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QUO VADIS,

MOTHER INDIA?

BY

A. DORASAMI

Ex-Headmaster, St. Paul's, Toungoo,
and author of
"OUR LOYALTY TO THE THRONE"
"THE VERDICT OF HISTORY UPON THE
BRITISH RULE IN INDIA", ETC.

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THE CHIEF WORKS CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS BOOK ARE :—

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ANTONIUS MARIA EPISCOPUS SINDENSIS
AMUS ET NOS

FOREWORD.

WHITHER GOEST THOU ?

Say whither goest thou, Oh Mother Ind,
Of a sheen of wonder quivering thee behind,
Thou that hath climbed unknown thy star-lit flights
To blinding Sun and flown to glory's heights,
Rolled Empires from power to prodigy,
Reared cities that flashed on earth like suns on sea,
Sceptres and thrones with mighty destiny,
Shrined in the hallowed fanes of antiquity,
Races that rose in grace and fell in guilt,
The glory and the greatness they had built,
Thy creeds and tongues, thy wit and cultured might,
All clustering in romantic luring sight,
Ensemble of a past that thrills its spell
Into the present like a magic bell ?
Thou precious store of man's sublimest arts—
That still their wonder draws from farthest parts,
Where are thy marble halls and fanes of gold,
Thy seas of pearls and mounts of wealth untold,
Thy saints and seers, monarchs, men of lore
That star-like twinkle through the night of yore ?
And what hath lain thy glories in a shroud ?
The fire and sword it is of Crescent proud.
E'er more thy tale in strife and terror is told.
For tears bartering thine honour and gold,
Long centuries of woe were sapping thy life,

Till a foreign race nipped that eternal strife.
Steering on peace, the haven of Freedom they show,
Which folly spurns. And whither wouldst thou go ?
Throw up thy gaze on all the world around.
With waking nations read thy lesson sound.
Loud is the world in her cry of liberty,
As nations quicken the force of democracy.
But yesterday Empires crumbled to dust,
As rebellions rose to smite the bad with just :
Towers and cities shoot from haunts of beasts,
The lure of light enkindles savage breasts,
The bushman turns his pipe to telescope,
The pen and brush supplant his axe and rope.
The servile chain was forged by man for man ;
His will and right to break it have began
When bush and hut the Freedom's trumpet blow,
Thou gilded palace, whither wouldst thou go ?
Is it to pools of blood and piles of death
Blown off by mad rebellion's blasting breath :
Or, tempted by the baits of quick Swaraj,
Turn turtle bursting into impatient rage ;
Or, under the banner borne by Wisdom's hand,
Mindful of the strifes and splits that toss the land,
Spurred on by mighty Britains Imperial guide,
March up the prudent path to a nation's pride ?
'Swaraj at once' is killing the race forsooth.
Let candour tell of India's naked truth.
A thousand rares braced by Nature's hand
Are held united on one mighty land ;
But man's has cut them into warring bits
For bitter ends by vile and vicious splits.

A stranger to the bliss of peace and love
So harmful to man and hateful to God above,
A land of spiritual mind too vast to tell,
Smarts under endless pangs of social hell.
Where light of soul her moral greatness made,
Thick mists of blighting ignorance pervade ;
Vain patriotism paints her all in gold
Still dreaming of her pride and power of old.
But time's relentless hand hath smashed them all.
New force is sprung to lift her from the fall.
A century of toil is naught of time,—
Behold the bulk of anarchy and crime !
And what has been done is proudest feat indeed,—
To heal the past and urge the present speed
By peace, enlightenment and popular right
To a future of the nation's loftiest height.
To rush the land with restless raging haste
With masses in the mud is fatal waste.
What picture doth she make in very deed ?
A spray of voice and a sea of silence, heed ;
A gleam of culture in a canopy of gloom
Which, undispelled in time, will hasten her doom.
A creed hath spun the murderous web of caste
Whose races are, like spider—flies, stuck fast.
A wheat of love in a cockle field of hate,
In artful hide, it hies withal to fate.
While generals meet and hug for nation's might,
Their armies kick and go ahead in fight.
Self-interest dove-tailed with sacrifice
Is the damning cause of her pathetic cries.
Sharp wit and warmth of country's glory ply

Their zeal on rock-bound ignorance and die.
The voice that shouts reforms on public stage,
How oft at home denounces them in rage!
A mole of wrong by others is mighty crime;
But our mutual horrors glow by law sublime.
For every pen to draft the terms of peace
A thousand swords there be to cut it in piece.
Beneath the tongue proclaiming unity
Is a heart that sobs for strifes so full and free.
While man uplifts himself to undue height
Woman, tied down, is flung to direst plight.
Abreast with time do nations onward ride
We cling to rotten ways and perish in pride.
If truth and wisdom sway the high and low
The march to Freedom's goal shall not be slow.
Truth bluntly told, though hacked and howled, will win
It recks not of wrath; to bilk for fame is sin.
Go, then, my little book, with message bold
And tell the rich and poor, the young and old:—
Perish India must in blood and tears
If she persists in wrongs as in past years;
But if God's righteous law she loves, His Hand
Will bless her days in peace. Hail, Motherland!

SAN THOME, MADRAS. A. D.

PREFACE.

We, the present generation of Indians living in an unruffled atmosphere, hardly know and much less care to recall the interminable sufferings our fore-fathers endured in days which appear dim with distance when our country, the mighty land of the Orient, with her heritage of a proud culture and civilisation lived, for many a century, in a state of misrule, anarchy and bloodshed. Her incredible wealth was the cause of all her woes. It allured the greed of foreign invaders who poured upon her in streams of ferocity, and upon the ruins of her ancient glory, built up the formidable Empire of Islam. And thus, India, under the double rule of the Hindu and the Moslem, was, for seven hundred years, a sea in a storm. But, thanks be to Heaven, for a century at least, the storm has ceased to rage, and calm reigns under the spell of a power which, by the all-embracing spirit of tolerance and philanthrophy combined with the lofty ideals of Imperialism, has showered so many blessings upon India that it has a just claim upon her gratitude. But withal, her political sky, not infrequently blazes with flashes of unrest which threaten to shoot down and ignite a peaceful region. And now that, under the present Constitution, India is thrown upon the unprecedented venture of evolving out her high political destinies through a steady process of enlightenment and on lines of absolute democracy and the professional fire-brands, in league with the detractors of Government, have, at this period of transition, an ample scope of playing upon the gullibility of the masses and pushing up their propaganda of mischief, disorder and impediment to progress, and, above all, the long-desired Statutory Commission have come to India to hold their deliberations touching her future destiny, it behoves every patriotic Indian to speak his mind out on the present position of India and her unerring path to Democratic Swaraj. Therefore, courting no favour and fearing no frown, a tiny unit as I am amongst the mass millions of silent India, as a humble student of history, allying myself to no particular creed or party, I venture, in this little book, to serve the sacred cause of my great country by vindicating the eternal laws of truth and justice as delineated in the pages of her incomparable history.

CHAPTER I.

A PEEP INTO THE PAST.

The election of 1926 has served a double purpose. First, it has removed the bandage that was covering the old sores of India; and secondly, it has brought to the forefront of political thought, as the pioneer of what India aims at as her ultimate goal, the flash-lights of Home-rule under the indigenous name of Swaraj. Racial feeling, which hitherto, like a snake under the grass, lay hid under a different principle of the British rule, sprang up with the pent-up venom of a century as each constituency was fought out on communal basis. In the democratic West, elections are fought out vehemently, too, nay, bitterly at times, on religious and political grounds. But, it is all amongst one people and in one country. But in India, at the call of the Reform scheme, a whole continent of races, a host of religions, scores of political opinions, bitter social prejudices, clashing interests, clannish trades and professions, enlightenment and ignorance, patriotism and self-interest, these, in their variegated characters played their part in what may be regarded as the first striking scene of the democratic drama. It seems as though Britain had thrown out a challenge to intellectual India to see if it could expand to a greatness where it could assimilate the tremendous issues involved in this unprecedented experiment which purports to drive the topless democracy of the West into the rockbed of Eastern autocracy. And the Indian Intelligentsia, in a spirit of exuberance has taken up that challenge with a world of illiteracy and hopeless conditions as its background. Had India done less in the election, the British people would have equally less respect for her. Till a decade ago, British voice never resounded in the Council Chambers but in a tone of bureaucratic imperiousness and unchallenged victory, and the air never quivered to any such sound as democracy. But, to-day, Swarajsits sit in them triumphant, exultant, defiant. The prophetic declaration of Lord Macaulay has come to be realised, though to some, too sudden to be true. But anyway, there it is, the first great step in the practical inception of a popular government, the ingenuous beginning of "India for Indians." And why should it be otherwise? Does not the heart of every enlightened Indian thrill with frantic enthusiasm at the vision of a day when India will be the mistress of her own destinies? Does not the British Rule itself since 1834, through every branch of administration slowly but irresistibly carry her to that sublime goal? Turn to her history.

There is not and there never was on earth a nation that has so ravished the mind of humanity as India, the great spiritual Mother of the East. She has captivated the imagination of poets, the mind of philosophers and the genius of scholars. She is the home of saints and sages, the cradle and the crown of arts and the inspiration of the highest ideals of spirituality. A golden receptacle of the bounties of nature, she offers Heaven no fairer spot to behold, nor does the Sun shine upon a more dazzling scene. She is the shrine of the majesty of Creation and the hallowed emporium of man's masterpieces on Earth. To the astonished gaze of the historian, she peeps through the misty past as the prodigy of antiquity and the pioneer of civilisation. In the morning of the world when most of the races were steeped in ignorance and barbarism, she had propounded a philosophy which, illumining the East with the splendour of its teachings, soared above the stars and held converse with a personal God. That most wonderful and perfect language of man, the incomparable Sanskrit, is her creation. And when, in the early hours of a far off day, she sloped down with her holy seers from their Northern home and sang her Vedic hymns in that noble tongue by the banks of the sacred Ganges, its waters rose in amorous riplets sighing for her song and the enchanted hills cooed back the music of her faith and the melody of her soul. The great nations that glory in their venerableness are but of yesterday by the side of her antiquity. In the sombre twilight of an age when Egypt was rearing her pyramids and the Babylonian seers were recording the movements and meanings of stars, she had perfected her arts and culture and her Kings had ruled in palaces of gold and marble. Her supreme intelligence penetrated every realm of creation from the highest firmament of stars down to the depths of the sea and has sumptuously given to the world her astronomy, her philosophy, her poetry, her literature, her medicine, and her music. She had reared cities and empires of inconceivable massiveness and splendour when mighty London and her race were yet unborn. Her Somnath and Nagorcote revelled in religion ere Parnassus spoke her oracles and Pontiffs ruled in the temples of Rome. Centuries upon centuries of invasions swept over her, decimating her children and draining her riches to the farthest ends of the glope; but she has heaved in her generations and become unwieldy in her races; and the remnant of her wealth still allures the dreams of a hundred nations around. With a history of 3,000 years at the back of her, she has seen the rise and fall of empires, thrones and sceptres. Dynasties and races, creeds and tongues have come and gone before her, but she remains. She remains not on the decline of a tottering age, not as a relic of a power that is past and gone, but a stern reality of the living present, in the virility of youth, a giantess among nations, unchangeable in her ways, remarkable in her history as the embediment of all that humanity stands for vastness, magnificence and wonder. And when we consider the shocks of revolutions she has survived and the terrors of persecutions she has lived through, we may boldly predict that, centuries hence when the face of the world shall have changed, when the powers that be shall be sleeping in the silence of a past dead and forgotten, and when, in a universal cataclysm, some tyrant of an invader, weltering through blood and chaos, shall, in the midst of a vast desolation, take his stand on the broken rampart of an Agra citadel to gaze upon the glittering ruins of Taj Mahal, India, in her perennial youth and in the imperishable strength of her millions, will be India still.

The history of such a land is at once a roamnce and a reality. Her remotest annals are hidden in the mist of an impenetrable past, but her authentic history starts about the fourth century B. C. Magada looms in hoary venerableness and offers a fine retrospect of India's splendour through centuries of antiquity. Now, all Asia is in a tremor as Gautama Buddha, India's son and sage—the greatest for ever, sends forth a message, the strange message of emancipation from evil which, in process of time, brings a huge bulk of the human race under its sway. Lo! the Jhelum splashes with the march of Alexander the Great. He that shook Babylon and the might of a hundred races like a piece of rag, halts at Hydaspes to heave forth his admiration for the giant fighters of India. Taxila then welcomes the disciple of Aristotle. How his chivalrous heart swells as he stands in the renowned University Centre listening in raptures to the assembly of scholars congregated from all parts of India and regions far beyond, discoursing on astronomy, philosophy, music and medicine. A little to the East, sparkling like a diamond in moonlight is Pataliputra, the proud city of the Mauryan Emperors. We are struck with amazement at the immensity of the city guarded by a palisade with 64 gates and 570 towers, the grandeur of its culture and civilisation, its rigid administration, and prfect municipal institutions, the well-organised army and the royal palace with its ten thousand gilded pillars "adorned with golden vines and silver birds and a fine ornamental park studded with fish-ponds and well-furnished with trees and shrubs served as setting for the edifice." And after twenty-five centuries, we could still see the twinkling of those mighty stars of the Mauryan Empire, Chandrakupta and Asoka. Asoka counts not only among the greatest rulers on Earth, but among supreme makers of world history. A feeling of speechless wonder steals over our intellect as we contemplate upon the Emperor's piety and wisdom, his predigious labours in the well-being of his subjects, the burning zeal with which he sends forth missionaries to every part of India and far beyond into the cultured Kingdoms of Syria, Macedonia, Epirus, Egypt, Cyrene, and to unrecorded regions; the great ecumenical council of Buddhism at his capital, the incredible firmness of will, energy and material lavishness he displays in the perpetuation of his faith by monumental edicts and inscriptions on rocks, pillars and caves extensively planted from the Himalayan region to the kingdoms of the Dekkan.

A few more centuries glide away in vicissitudes when India brighten up again with a fresh splendour and a new Empire. Kanishka hails with a new era in right royal dignity, the Caesar of India, the Conquerer of China, a second Asoka.

The fame of his conquests and zeal for religion fill all the land. He convenes a great council of Buddhisn at his capital Purushapura. The light of Asia gains additional lustre. Arts and literature find fresh inspiration under the munificent patronage of the Gandhar Emperor. Poets, musicians, artists, physicians, and scholars of every branch of learning in increasing numbers adorn his reign and leave indelible traces of the intellectual genius of India's past.

Now, the picture opens in the South. Coeval with Assyria and Babylon, as a distant lure of Asoka, and resplendant with a culture and civilisation all their own, are the Kingdoms of Pandya, Chera and Chola. Modern researches bear an unerring testimony to the primitive ancientness of these Kingdoms. Pandya, as the most ancient and powerful, stretches from shore to shore, sends forth ambassadars to Augustus Cæsar and opens a commercial searoute between the two great Empires, India and Rome. Madura, the Taxila of the South, is aflame with classic lore. Her monarchs amidst surfeit of wealth, surround themselves with hosts of learned men. To a remarkable degree sculpture, architecture and music testify to their skill and originality, while the ethics and the massiveness of their literature astonish the conception of scholars. Speaking, for instance of the angelic code of morals the "Kural," the inestimable historian, Dr. Vincent Smith says, "The Kural is described as being the most venerated and popular book South of the Godaveri ...... the literary treasure, the poetic mouthpiece, the highest type of verbal and moral excellence among the Tamil people. The author taught ethical dectrine of singular purity and beauty, which cannot, so far as I know, be equalled in the Sanskrit literature of the North."

Now, we enter the golden age of ancient India, the Gupta period. As much by their personal accomplishments as prowess in war and by patronage worthy of Imperial prerogative, her monarchs rear a twin—fabric, a gigantic Empire and a still more gigantic culture.

Samudragupta, Vikramaditya and Skundagupta are starlights of the age. Through the glare of a civilisation which seems to be the culmination of all that Hindu genius has soared to, India appears radiant in her loveliness like Sarasvati. Human mind reveals itself in the plenitude of its powers. Music, poetry, architecure, sculpture, painting, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, philosophy and poetry attain the summit of their perfection. India is now the treasure house of the world in her monumental pillars, palaces, images and temples. The art of metallurgy too rises to an eminence of wonder. Witness the copper image of Buddha about 80 feet high, erected at Nalanda in Bihar in the sixth century. As regards skill in painting, says Dr. Vincent Smith in his history. " It is needless to dwell upon the high merits of the paintings in the Ajanta caves which are now freely recognised. A Danish artist who has published a valuable prefessional criticism declares that they represent the climax to which genuine Indian Art has attained, and that everything in these pictures testifies to depth of insight coupled with the greatest technical skill.

The glories of the Gupta Empire now fade for a time as Huns and other barbarian hordes pour into India from Central Asia. But the gloom soon vanishes before the giant light of Kanauj, Harhavardana. All Northern India bows to his supremacy. A monarch of a vast Empire, an accomplished scholar, a soul intensely devout in his own faith, Harsha is assiduous in his kingly duties, ever on the move, from province to province enlightening every part of his dominion by education, pitches his administration to an elaborate and wonderful efficiency and retains the classic arts and sciences in the highest standard of the Guptas. And, as for his military glory, what indeed must be his power when he could count sixty thousand wai elephants as a unit of his army! With-the passing of this great and last of Hindu Cæsars, India drifts on the downward slope. She is ever more the network of intrigues, disorders, dissensions, dynastic changes, murders, assassinations, jealousies and wars among princes, disruptions of kingdoms, neglect and decay of arts and sciences, and the miseries of people crushed under poverty, oppression and misrule. This state of things went on from century to century till, weakened by internecine wars, her population decimated, her resources eaten up, her natural wealth consigned to neglect and her people to illiteracy, her strength undermined, her prestige lowered, India, queen without a peer, falls an easy prey to a power whose tale of seven centuries is told in barbarity and bloodshed, no less in power and magnificence.

We have now to hurry through the dread domain of invaders till we rest our feet on the soil of tolerance, safety and enlightenment. The rise of Islam is a miracle of history. Arabia, its birth-place, is a desert country with a strip of habitable land round the coast. As might naturally be expected, its inhabitants were mostly wandering tribes, and there were petty independent clans governed by warring chieftains. The glowing atmosphere and the desert majesty of a wild barren waste, stretching from sea to sea and spotted with refreshing oases, coupled with the social and political status of the country, imbued the Arab with a disposition that could, at any risk, assert the independence of his clan, or else doze away in stoic serenity amidst his monotonous, wandering occupations. And the country's barrenness and poverty were, at all times, a sufficient force to repel the invasions of foreign powers. Such, in brief, was the order of things that obtained in Arabia from unrecorded times till the sixth century when, of a sudden, she arose in a blaze of splendour which amazed and staggered humanity. The man who ignited her to that terrific glow was Mahomed, the founder of Islam.

Mahomed was born at Mecca in 570 A.D. His boyhood was spent in the wandering occupation of his tribe. Habitually of a contemplative mood, he used to repair, while still in youthful manhood, to the rugged mountains overlooking the haze of ocean sand. And there, sitting amidst sceneries which enveloped him and poring his meditations over the state of his country's religion, finally came up with a new faith and promulgated it before his idolatrous countrymen. At first, his preaching so provoked the superstitious wrath of the idolators of Mecca that he had to flee for safety to Medina in 622 A. D. This flight of Mahomed is known as the Hijra from which the Mahomedans reckon their era. But soon mustering courage, he gave up all tactics of preaching by persuasion and resorted to violence. In this he was not to be baffled. No fleeing but slaying! Such was the force with which he invaded the conscience of his countrymen. Finding the latter plan was successful, he advanced one bold step in his propaganda and this gave his faith tremendous popularity and world-wide success. He flattered the passions of man and, declaring himself a prophet of God sent to rescue his countrymen from the pernicious worship of idols, held out the certain reward of Paradise with its manifold pleasures to such of his followers as fell fighting for his religion. Fanaticism in man is a dangerous evil and has given rise to most fearful consequences. But the fanaticism, as forged and charged into the Arab by the Prophet, was a most inflammable element which set the world in a terrific conflagration. The Arab was now a man of fire and sword ; no more the camel-rider who would silently plod through long and dreary deserts, content with a bag of dates and a mouthful of brackish water. All that appeals to the passions of man, all that stirs the depths of his emotions, the love of glory, the pride of conquest, the wielding of sceptre, the ruling of empires, the possession of wealth and honour, the thirst for plunder, all these were concentrated and cherished in the bosom of the burning Arab. He would leave his desert home to conquer nations and fix his mark upon world history.

Within ten years of his preaching Mahomed brought the whole of Arabia to his feet. And this created in the hearts of his followers a craving for universal dominion. When the Arabs emerged from their soil, two great Empires stood opposed to their ambition. Babylon was there, but as a remnant of all she had been of power, dominion and glory. She was in the last throes of her existence, withered and dying amidst the decay of ages. A little farther, towards the West, was the delapidated

Empire of Rome. Her Cæsars had slept. The Goths, Vandals, Huns and other hordes of barbarians had done their work. The seven Hills on which the Mistress of the world stood in pride with her palaces of gold and marble were a heap of blood-stained ruins. Her vast dominions were plundered and divided among barbarous tyrants. A new order of things was springing up from the ruins of a dominion that was past and gone. Such was the state of Asia and Europe when the new-born Arab issued from his home, the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other.

Persia was the first to fall beneath his sword. From here the march of the ferocious Arabs, East and West, was like the sweep of the desolating lava that has burst out of a valcano. Kingdoms and thrones melted down and perished beneath the fury of Islam. The standard of the Crescent was unfolded in haughty triumph upon the Kingdoms of the Cross. Spain fell; and this emboldened them to push their conquests into the heart of France. Christianity, the only power that sprang to life from the ashes of the Roman Empire, was torn by internal dissentions called heresies. Mustering, however, what strength it could, it met the aggressive Islam in Spain and Cadesia closed for ever the flood-gates of Muslim irruptions into the West. But the tide of disappointed fury rolled back all the fiercer and swept over the Eastern world.

It was an evil day for India when young Cassim burst through the barriers of the Himalayas and planted the Crescent upon the Rajput soil at Alor in Sindh in

711 A. D. From now till the end of the 18th century it was no more inter-racial warfare, but death struggle for existence and supremacy between two great faiths: Islam, new-forged, aggressive, persecuting, sanguinary; and Hinduism, ancient, chivalrous but defensive and disunited. This little book does not purport to unfold the records of Islam through all those appalling times when its bloody sword knew not a moment's rest. It would merely touch the principal acts of powerful kings, thereby giving prominence to such events as told upon the destiny of India through a life of restless struggle and suffering under an alien rule.

Through occasional reverses, Sindh was retained by the Mahomedans for a century, when it was recovered by the Hindus. A century more and the warlike country had to share in the general consternation which shook the Royal houses of Hindustan at the constant invasions of Mahmud, the celebrated Sultan of Ghazni. This warrior was one of those rare mortals in history who achieved in a single lifetime what would have been impossible for a score of heroes to do. As a youth, he had heard much of India. He had heard of the magnificence of her Kings, her marvellous prosperity, and her boundless wealth. Within him was burning the fire of plundering her nations and propagating his faith among her people. Urged on by this two-fold ardour, he invaded India seventeen times. By far the most famous of his invasions were the fourth and the twelfth undertaken in 1008 A. D. and 1024 A. D. respectively.

The first monarch that was to be defeated by Mahmud was Jaipal of Lahore. This humiliating disaster so preyed upon his mind that, after resigning his throne in favour of his son Anangpal, he put an end to his life upon a funeral pyre which he erected with his own hand. Mahmud returned again and Anangpal became fully alive to his situation and foresaw the fate of India. He saw that unless Mahmud was opposed by a confederated Hindustan, not only would his own throne be imperilled, but the faith of his fathers and the independence of the country would go. He, thererore, made a passionate appeal to the neighbouring powers. He implored them in the name of all the .gods, to sink past animosities from consideration of a danger that threatened to hurl them into a common ruin. His appeal met with an equally passionate response from all the princes. And so, when Mahmud advanced to meet Anangpal in the field, he was surprised to see a mighty expanse of united hosts with their elephants, horses and chariots, augmented by the stirring presence of the Kings of Ujjain, Delhi, Ajmere, Gwallior, Kanauj and Kalinger and all confronting the invader with a determination which nothing on Earth would shake. But there are the chances of war. During the tremendous conflict, an accident, caused by an elephant, threw the massive columns of the Hindus into disorder. And Mahmud, taking immediate advantage of the confusion that followed, charged them with a desperate fury and routed the forces of the united powers into the fastnesses of the Punjab. The victor was now virtually the master of the whole of Hindustan, and could have without any difficulty, set up his authority over there. But he was more bent upon plunder as an easy sequel to his victory than the establishment of a rule in India. And Nagarcote captivated his heart.

Nagarcote, nestling on the lower ranges of the Himalayas, was a temple of great antiquity. For ages, it was the depository of the munificence of Kings and Emperors, and the generous offerings of the rich and pious pilgrims. It was the grandest emporium on earth of gold and precious stones. When Mahmud advanced to the golden terrace of the Himalayas, the temple offered little resistance ; and its unbounded wealth was drained off to Ghazni.

Gujarat was the scene of Mahmud's twelfth expedition. Like Nagarcote, Somnath was a most magnificent temple, erected at the strongly fortified isthumas of Gujarat. Even Mahomedan writers seem incapable of expressing their admiration for the grandeur of the temple and the extent of wealth that was stored in it. To plunder it, Mahmud collected an unwieldy mass of men. How immense must that army have been may be guessed from the fact that twenty thousand camels were considered insufficient to carry their provisions. And they were reinforced by legions of volunteers whom the desire to participate in the spoils of India recruited from every-corner of Afghanistan. With this profligate expanse of power, Mahmud moved on to Somnath through burning deserts and impassable rivers. The Raja of Gujarat, on hearing of Mahmud's entrance into his dominions, fled in terror from his capital. A Rajput garrison of 10,000 men offered a most resolute front to the invaders and the Mussulmans were flung head-long down the battlements of Somnath. But when the Rajput heroism spent itself, Mahmud stormed the temple and entered it. Unawed by the peculiar veneration that attached to the spot and bent only upon the destruction of idolatry in places where he stood master, he raised his mace to beat down the colossal statue of gold. The Brahmans, prostrating themselves before the victor, implored him on promise of a large ransom, to spare the object of India's adoration and worship. But Mahmud would have his name inscribed upon the annals of the Mahomedan world as the breaker, and not the seller, of idols. He struck the idol. It fell; and out poured a dazzling heap of diamonds. The treasures of Somnath that had been deposited there from time immemorial were carried away. The immensity of the plundered wealth of the temple astonishes our conception when we are told that not only did it satisfy the insatiable heart of Mahmud and the wild ambition of his army, but it enabled the invader to put up monuments of undying splendour at Ghazni amidst festivities which more than gratified the yawning expectations of his subjects. Mahmud invaded India five times more. And when his end was drawing near, he ordered his officers to place before his dying eyes what still remained of his plunder. Several heaps of emeralds, diamonds, and pearls were thrown up, and he expired with a sigh that he had to leave them so soon. The only political advantage that accrued from the seventeen invasions of Mahmud was the reduction of the Punjab; wherein he laid the foundation of the Moslem power in Hindustan.

Hardly had the Hindu sovereignties recovered from the shock of invasions, when another invader, Mahomed Ghori, repeated the atrocities of Mahmud upon the still bleeding Hindustan. He invaded nine times. After supplanting the Ghaznivede dynasty in Afghanistan, he became the founder of the Pathan race of kings who ruled at Delhi for three centuries.

The history of his nine invasions is told, as in the case of Mahmud, in the defeat of Hindu monarchs, the total subversion of the kingdoms of Delhi, Kanauj, Gujarat, Bengal, Oudh and Berar, the malignant insult offered to the faith of the Hindus, the plunder and desecration of their temples, the demolition of cities and monuments of ages, the massacre of helpless people, the appalling state of the masses lost in a maze of anarchy and desolation and the springing up of an alien rule from the destruction of Hindu greatness and the country's independence. Five dynasties of the Pathan rulers sat upon the throne of Delhi, the Slave, the Khilji, the Toghlak, the Syud and the Lodi. Of these rulers it may be said with truth that what genius could inspire and what rapacity and tyranny could suggest were to be found asserted in their conduct and policy.

The most powerful of this line of kings was Allauddin. While yet a general under his uncle, Jelaludin, Emperor of Delhi, he distinguished himself by a daring expedition into the Dekkan, which had, till then, remained unmolested by Mahomedans. It was not want of courage on the part of Hindu kings, but inadequate protection of their kingdoms, arising from their over-bearing idea of self-sufficiency that had been, many a time, the cause of their humiliation before the Mahomedans. And here is a case. Ramdeo was a great Rajput prince who was ruling at Deogiri in Maharashtra. The Mahomedans looked upon him with regard. By his extraordinary prowess, he awed them into the belief that he was the sole monarch of the Dekkan. Ala marched to his capital and Ramdeo would scarcely believe when he was told that a huge army of Mussulmans was even at the gates of his city. Flight was inevitable ; but the Raja only half redeemed it by heavily buying off the invader, and ceding to him, at the same time, the sovereignty of Elichpur and its dependencies.' When Allauddin, loaded with the spoils of the Dekkan and magnified with the fame of her conquest which he invaded without the knowledge of the emperor, was marching in triumph towards Delhi, Jelaludin was given a warning note as to the increase of his army and the dangerous consequences of his military career. But the old Emperor's heart swayed his head. In spite of the repeated monitions of his chief queen, the ministers of his court and his most trusted friends, Jelaludin advanced with a small cohort to meet Ala beyond his capital : and, at the trysting place, he went alone to embrace him. While the old man was stroking his cheek and gently reproving him for his unauthorised expdition into the Dekkan, the assassin, whom Allauddin kept in close concealment sprang from his hiding place and stabbed the Emperor in the heart. This most cowardly deed of the bravest hero of the day makes us shudder when we reflect to what depths of horror human depravity would not plunge just to clutch at a power that dazzles but to die.

And now seated upon the throne which he erected upon the blood of his aged uncle, Allauddin contemplated the conquest of all India. After reducing Gujarat, he turned his thoughts upon Rajaputana. The acquisition of that desert country was not so much his purpose as curbing down the spirit of the Rajputs who were the flower of Hindu chivalry. He laid siege to Ritambur which fell after a resistance of twelve months. Its garrison, its people and its king with all his family were butchered. Chitore next and likewise Malwa were conquered; and their inhabitants had to submit to all the humiliations which a ferocious victory could inflict upon prostrate foes. And now, aided by Malif Kafur, his eunuch general, he re-conquered Maharashtra which had revolted; and, reducing the principal kingdoms of the Dekkan, pushed his conquests to Rameswaram, the farthest limit of South India; so that, Allauddin was the first among Mahomedan rulers to spread their sovereignty and its rueful effects over the whole of India. When his end was drawing near, most of the subdued provinces revolted and became independent. The spirit of Ala preyed upon itself. Treachery begets treachery. In 1316 A.D., a sharp poison, administered by his favourite Kafur despatched him from the field of his restless labours. After Allauddin, the annals of Delhi are stained with the blackest crimes known to Indian History. A series of conspiracies, murders, tortures of inconceivable barbarity, plots and assassinations among the royal families filled up the period between the death of Allauddin and the accession of Mahomed Bin Toghlak to the throne in 1321.

In Toghlak were combined the lofty genius of a scholar and the wicked frenzy of a mad man. Some of his most insane and actrocious acts need to be mentionned. He emptied his coffers by repeatedly buying off his enemies. To fill them up again, he increased his taxes to such an extent that his subjects were panic-stricken. The cultivators, preferring the haunts of wild beasts to the tortures of his revenue officers, fled in vast numbers to the jungles, where, by order of the Emperor, they were surrounded and hunted down like beasts of chase. He fitted up an expedition of 100,000 men for the conquest of China. The few that returned to tell of the destruction of the army at the passes of the Himalayas were brutally put to death by the infuriated monarch. Another expedition, was likewise sent to Persia. But, as the Emperor gave them no pay, the disorderly mass of headless soldiery began to impoverish his own provinces looting them outright. The Emperor's nephew rebelled, failed and was betrayed. His appalling fate is thus related by Ibn Batuta the historian: They bound his legs and tied his arms to his neck and so conducted him to the sultan. He ordered the prisoner to be taken to the women his relations, and these insulted and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be skinned alive; and, as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife, and the remainder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants; but they would not touch it. The Sultan ordered his skin to be stuffed with straw and to be placed along with the remains of Bahadura Bura (a relative of Balban and claimant to the Viceregal throne of Bengal) and to be exhibited throughout the country." To crown these achievements, his sovereign will directed that Deogiri, a fair city in the Dekkan, should henceforth be his capital, and ordered the immense population of Delhi and its suburbs to quit their residence and move on, in a body, to the new city. Our mind recoils in horror to contemplate the enormity of the hardship, starvation, torture and other calamities endured by thousands of aged men and women and children through a march of 700 miles spread over trackless jungles, regions of wild beasts and impassable rivers and mountains. Hardly did the shattered wreck crawl to their destination and have a breathing time when another decree proclaimed the half-dead survivors the mighty pleasure of the emperor which ordered them back to Delhi under the active whips of conducting officers. And when History tells us that this sort of royal spree was tried a second time, we fail to conceive whether these huge barbarities were dictated by the rapid tension of a will that seeks to gauge at any cost, the extent of its callous malignity or executed by the deliberate wickedness of a heart that loves to exult over the groans of a helpless people as they lie, fallen and crushed in despair, under the terrors of an unbridled, infatuated, accursed despotism.

These acts of brutal insanity naturally left their mark upon the empire. The kingdoms of the Dekkan threw off the yoke of Delhi and the famous Bahmini kingdom was established there in 1347 A. D. In the

North, Gujerat, Malwa, Bengal, Sindh and other provinces revolted and set up their independence. And it was at these awful times when the empire was torn by internal revolts, strifes and civil wars that Tamerlane, the celebrated world-stormer terrorised Hindustan with a most shocking invasion. Since creation, the human race never experienced anything half as dreadful as the irruptions of the Mongols. Their accursed feet walked not upon earth but it was instantly converted into a hideous ruin. They had already invaded India several times, the first of which was conducted by Chengiz Khan, the worst type of the worst of tyrants. His name is written in characters of blood upon the wilderness of ashes with which he literally covered Asia and Europe; and Tamerlane, his descendant by blood and match in tyranny, marching over the debris of the flourishing cities of Hindustan, entered Delhi and proclaimed himself Emperor of India. A little sparkling crown, placed on his head, would hardly satisfy his blood-thirsty heart. And so, he ordered a general massacre of the city. The work of slaughter lasted for five days. He listened, with imperial joy, to the groans of the dying thousands, feasted his eyes on the heaps of the dead, and wading through the warm blood of 100,000 slain, marched out of the country with the plunder of the city and an immense multitude of men and women of all ranks as slaves.

Tamerlane thus gave the finishing touch to the aggregate follies of the rulers of Delhi and the crowning abominations of Toghlak. The empire crumbled to pieces. The same old story was repeated. Gujerat, Bengal, Sindh, Malwa and the Dekkan re-asserted their independence. But the picture of Islam, dark as it is, is not without its bright spots, as delineated in monarchs of the type of Firoz Shah. And the perspective widens into an admirable glow under the Mogul Emperors who ruled India with a magnificence and power, unequalled in the annals of modern history. Akbar is the centre and the inspiration of this picture of Imperial splendour. A mighty sovereign of the greatest expanse of dominion ever wielded by an Indian monarch, Asoka excepted, Akbar applied the policy of tolerance to his rule, the first instance of a benevolent spirit we come across in the whole range of Mussulman authority. Under his wise and humane administration, Islam reached the highest summit of glory. Delhi now passed through Jehangir and Shah Jahan, the builder of Agra and the Taj, into the hands of Aurangazeb. This prince was a scientific compound of courage, greatness and hypocrisy. Having smeared his throne with the blood of his three brothers, he sat upon it gnashing his teeth at Akbar's law of tolerance and proclaimed war upon Hinduism. His religious bigotry ate up his conscience and his prudence alike. The Rajputs and the Mahrattas were the mighty citadels of Hinduism. He, therefore, looked upon them as his worst enemies. He subdued Rajaputana, sacked and massacred many of its historic cities, reduced thousands of those brave people into slavery and, employing every means which an unlimited power added to religious frenzy could place in his hand, converted that land into a wilderness. While the Rajputs went down in the North, the

Mahrattas rose in the South; and they not only upheld at the point of the sword the Hindu religion and Hindu nationality against Imperial Islam, but, whenever possible, slogged and slashed it beyond recovery. Intolerance bore its fruit. The Crescent began its wane. From now, date the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire. Not only did Hindu severeignties harass Aurangazeb, but even Mahomedan powers like Bijapur and Golkonda threw off their allegiance to Delhi. A series of incalculable disasters and reverses closed upon the eventful life and career of Aurangazeb in 1707 A.D.

For fifty years more the Mogul rule continued to exist, but as the shadow of a power that was no more itself. It was shorn of its glory, its magnificence and its terrors. And the last shot that completely levelled to the ground the glorious empire of the Moguls was the invasion of Nadir Shah.

In 1738, when Mahomed Shah was Emperor, Nadir Shah, the Persian monarch and the veritable impersonation of cruelty, entered India with an army of 100,000 men. History repeats itself, but here in the tragic horrors of a city whose wealth was its curse. He advanced to Delhi; the gates were flung open and in poured the unwieldy army. The Emperor surrendered himself. The first day passed off without an eventful occurrence. But the following day, the sun rose to witness the fate of a city doomed to perish in its own blood. An evil report that Nadir Shah was dead raised his passion to such a pitch that he consigned the whole city to a general massacre. And there followed a scene which could only be enacted by the infernal ferocity of demons. Delhi was converted into a slaughter-house and butchering went on a whole day without cessation, without mitigation. Our mind can stretch its utmost; it can conceive but a feeble picture of the terrific reality which made India groan for her lost ones. In about nine hours, from sunrise to sunset, 150,000 lay dead, cut and quartered in pools of blood in the ill-fated city, as victims to despotic fury.

For a few years more, the Imperial city was eking out a cold, infirm life, when another furious invader Ahmed Shah Abdali soon put out the last spark of her flickering existence. Thus ended Delhi and all her dominion and power.

At the tragic close of the Mussalman empire in India, we are inclined to trace the cause that led to its downfall. With the Mahomedans, the idea of proselytism is inseparable from that of conquest. They were fully successful in the realisation of this double enterprise in Persia, Central Asia, and Northern Africa. But Christian Europe thwarted their zeal and hurled them back to the East. Nor would India, though in her struggle of seven centuries, she had to cede to them a third of her territory and a fourth of her population, tamely brook their domination. The morbid idolatry of Arabia, the soul-less fire-worship of Persia and the naked superstition of Africa could hardly withstand the temptations of the Koran and the fury of its sword. But Hinduism, armed with its national heritage, its sublime philosophy, its excellent codes of ethics, its lofty ideas of penances and mortifications, its popular side too rendered impregnable by time and custom, its gorgeous temples and their traditions of antiquity, a world of religious literature, the inalienable possession of national dignity and power and a host of spiritual institutions which were nurseries of piety and learning, kept Islam at bay far more effectually than the strength of physical force put forth by all the princes of the land. The only monarch who thoroughly understood the Hindus was Akbar. But all the others and Aurangazeb in particular who threw the largest missile of destruction at his own edifice, were urged on by a thoughtless and immoderate zeal amounting to mad bigotry in the propagation of their faith. And consequently, they enacted laws and committed abominations in burning insult alike to the faith and nationality of Hindus. They hardly deigned to think that it was the land of the Hindus that they seized and governed, but treated them with a contempt and tyranny which, in time, like a two-edged sword, cut off their power. And Delhi, the grandest Empire of Islam in Asia, now counts among the dead.

CHAPTER II.

THE PASSING OF THE OLD ORDER.

Upon the ruins of an Empire, crumbled to bits, was planted the flag of a foreign power which is flying in undisputed sway. It has held its place for the past one century and-a-half. And how shall we look at it? Shall we read what is written on that flag which floats the highest in the world? Is it India's destiny that is written upon it? If so, why not make an attempt and see what, that destiny reads like upon that Imperial scroll?

I am a firm believer in the oracle of history that says Britain's mission in Asia is similar to that which Rome fulfilled in Europe. I shall attempt here, however briefly, to find an analogy between the missions of the two mightiest empires of the world, especially in the case of India, our own country, which is the proudest gem in the Crown of England and, undoubtedly, the object of her supreme mission in Asia.

With inconceivable massiveness of her arts and culture, her political and social institutions, her architectural marvels like the forum, the senate house, citadels, temples, circuses, amphitheatres, parks, palaces, porticoes and edifices of every imaginary form, beauty and splendour; her inimitable roads, baths, canals, aqueducts and bridges, her armies with their trophies and spoils of a thousand vanquished races and a population of eight million souls, Rome, the Mistress of the ancient world, stood upon seven hills as the image of the greatest and the highest humanity has seen of power, magnificence and glory.

The Roman Empire which was one compact mass with the Mediterranean Sea in the centre "was almost three thousand miles in extent from east to west, and almost one thousand miles from North to South and embraced the territory occupied by the modern countries of Portugal, Spain, France Belgium, Western Holland, England, Wales, the Scotch Lowlands, Rhenish Prussia, part of Baden, Wurtemberg, nearly the whole of Bavaria, Switzerland, Italy, the Tyrol, Austria proper, Western Hungary, Crotia, Slavonia, Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, European Turkey, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Barca, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco." Its population was 120,000,000. Except Greece and the adjoining provinces under Hellenic influences, the rest of the empire was inhabited by rude and barbarous races who were constantly at war with one another. Rome tied their warring hands, made them emerge from barbarism, founded flourishing cities and provinces in places that had been covered with forests and wild tribes and gave them as much enlightenment and freedom as was consistent with her policy of iron yoke, and laid the foundation of all the constitutional governments of modern Europe. And by far the most romantic of the glories that encircles and shall continue to encircle till the end of time the proudest name of the Eternal City is that which has made the Europe of to-day. She gave Europe

Christianity. That was her supreme mission. For Christianity, the sole inheritor and preserver of Hellenic culture and Roman civilisation which she dug out from the depths of desolation to which the Goths, the Visigoths, the Huns, and other savage hordes had consingned Rome and her glories, enshrined them in her abbeys and churches and, under the unction of a Faith which claims Divine origin and with a new life, a new principle and a new civilisation bearing the stamp of a genius all her own, set her hand upon evolving order from chaos and life from death. She mellowed the fierceness of the hardy and barbarous races of the shattered Empire, taught them to read and write, gave them religion, rule of life, law, order and government and, through toils of many a century, brought the whole of Europe to a status which marks her out to day as the most enterprising, the most cultured and the most remarkable product of the human race.

Now, buried in the reveries of Rome and borne on Western waters we alight on the cold shores of Britain; we steam up and, in a couple of hours, we are gorged out of the Victoria Station. In breathless wonder escapes from our lips the emotional expression: And so this is London!

In a melodramatic scene, as the heart of the great body of the human race, thrilling with electric emotions, with their achievements ceaselessly flashed up to her by cable, wire and wireless; piles and piles of buildings thrown up in a bewildering mass over limitless space; well polished metalled roads stretching through and ramifying into hundreds of miles; vast stretches of omnibuses, tram-cars, motor-cars, motor-lorries and vehicles of endless varieties almost wheeling one over the other and moving along like a mighty avalanche; pedestrians streaming along on the foot-paths of roads by the million; the lightning control of traffic in its terrific congestion by an intelligent police; the never-ending concourse of princes, ambassadors, millionaires, travellers, and representatives of every race and creed on earth; cafes, hotels and restaurants at every turn with their marvellous capacity to cater to continuous streams of visitors; quite a world of shops,—veritable glass-houses in a flame of light, exhibiting every variety of human industry; her public structures, theatres, picture-palaces, concert-halls, dancing-halls; thousands of schools and colleges and university edifices; her zoos, parks, promenades, avenues, pleasure-spots and recreation grounds; museums, art-galleries and public libraries, hospitals, homes and asylums for destitute children, the aged and the poor; railways on plain, underground and over-head and their gigantic stations; thousands of factories and printing houses keeping up their ceaseless roars; common crafts, motor-boats, launches and vessels of every size and shape plying the restless waters of the Thames; a forest of ships buttressing the strand; factories and chimneys which rise up like sentinels of prosperity; her churches, cathedrals and their steeples; the historic monuments and edifices; statues of national heroes commemorating the gallantry and the sacredness of duty; the Houses of Parliament with a history and a romance which have a magic for the mind of humanity; the Trafalgar Square with its central figure standing on a mighty eminence and looking through the boundless expanse of seas over the vast Empire, the leviathan of sea-fighters, Nelson the Great; and above all, the august presence of their Britannic Majesties in their rounds of historic functions; even so is London with a population of eight millions emblematic of a power which, in its political, moral and Imperial significanee can find its counter-glory only in in the Rome of Cæsars.

The British Empire is the grandest and the most colossal known to the human race. It comprises "(1) In Europe: Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Irish Free State, Gibraltar and Malta. (2) In Asia: Cyprus, Aden, Sokotra, Bahrein Islands, India, Ceylon, Malaya, British North Borneo, Sarawak and Hongkong. (3) In Africa: Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Basutoland, Bechuanaland; Kenya, Somaliland, Uganda and Zanzibar in East Africa; Mauritius, Nyasaland, St. Helena and Ascension, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland, Union South Africa; Gambia, Gold Coast with Ashanti, Nigeria, Sierra Leone in West Africa; Cameroon, South-west Africa; Tanganyika and Togoland in Mandated Territories. (4) In America: Bermudas, Canada, Falkland Island with South Georgia, British Guiana, British Honduras, Newfoundland, Labrador and West Indies. Its area is 13,412,391 sq. miles with a population of 450,000,000."

Unlike Rome, whose Empire was the creation of the sword, Britain owes the acquisition of her unweildy Empire to the genius of her colonisation aided, of course, by physical force. The vast number of nations who came under the yoke of Rome, for it was nothing but a yoke throughout her domination, existed only for her aggrandisement. A mighty stream of wealth, wrested from provinces, kept continuously pouring into the Roman exchequer. The cream of their lands enriched by the sweat of slaves who formed half the population of the Empire, went to fatten the aristocracy of Rome: the talents of provincial artisans were employed to embellish the Imperial City. And, just as the wayside grass is profited by canals intended to irrigate fields, the provinces became incidentally benefited by the presence of the Roman in the display of his rule, art and civilisation.

In the case of India which is our special theme, Britain won her neither by colonisation nor by sheer brute-force, but by the subtlest combination of political stratagem and superiority of arms. And, having made India her dependency, she would not and could not treat her just the same way as Rome treated her provinces. India was not a barbarous fragment of a dilapidated Empire. "The people of India, when we subdued them" says Lord Macaulay "were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were, at the same time quite as highly civilized as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the Cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. It might have been expected that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest Empires in the world......The Empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of buildings erected by the severeigns of Hindustan amazed even travellers who had seen St. Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great Viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of those deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony."

It would indeed be an act of lunacy to justify Britain through every detail of her struggles, and those were long and momentous, for the possession of India. If Sir Charles Napier's "Peccavi" meant he had Sindh, many another general could afford to apply the term in its literal sense. They have sinned and sinned badly upon the hard contested soil of India. There can be little doubt about it. And no man in the world would spurn with greater scorn than the Englishman himself the ignoble task of a sycophant who would paint his deeds in

India for conquest and supremacy except in colours of unimpeachable justice and righteousness Of a truth, the trader came to India, put away his bundle and, taking up the sword, brandished it through every phase of political morality which the necessities, nay, the opportunities of the time and the inviting ambition for dominion could dictate, and, succeeded in establishing his Empire. That over, Britain comes with a mission which, she believes, has been entursted to her by Divine Providence. And how she is engaged in performing that mission to which she has pledged herself so earnestly and solemnly throughout her eventful rule, we shall trace, though briefly, in the following pages. Particularly at this period of the world's existence when mankind is seething under revolutions of all kinds, when the ideals of an intrepid democracy toss up nations like a hurricane; when atheism, anarchism, political perfidy and other forms of ungodliness, putting on the false robe of philanthrophy, stalk the earth with the sworn object of burying law, order, civilisation and the spirituality of nations beneath universal destruction, it is, I think, worth the while of every patriotic Indian to ask himself the question, "India has been under the flag of Britain for the past one hundred and fifty years; how has she fared all this while? If, as she says, her rule in India constitutes her supreme mission in Asia, how has she been faithful to it?" Now, in order to unravel this great and interesting point of human history, it is necessary for us, to take a short peep into the political condition of India on the decline of the Mogul Empire and a brief survey of the British Administration in India.

Aurangazeb was dead; and, with the passing of the Great Mogul began, as we have seen, the disintegration of that stupendous fabric of an Empire reared by the genius of Akbar and extended to the farthest ends of the South by his successors. The provincial governors, fearing no authority from Delhi which thenceforth had mere puppets for her Emperors, set up independent rule in their own provinces. Thus Oudh, Bengal. Behar, Orissa and Rohilkund in the North and the Dekkan in the South with Bijapur, Golkonda, Ahmednagar, Ellichpur and Bidar, became separate kingdoms. Shorn of her glories, a spectre of a power that was no more itself, Delhi was soon to die strangled in her own blood. In 1739, Nadir Shah sacked the Imperial city, massacred her inhabitants, and carried away his booty to the value of £ 30,000,000 including the famous Peacock throne. Delhi is dead. The magnificent Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar also had fallen and was dismembered. The tragedy of this "Forgotten Empire" tells how, at one sweep as an immediate sequel to the Mahomedan success at Talikota in 1765, every vestige of the phenominal glories of two centuries that clustered round her name in her power, wealth, vastness, grandeur, government, arts, monuments, her temples of gold and palaces of ivory, and her proud Imperial city "such that eye has not seen now ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth", and hosts of unheard of marvels new lying buried under ground with a tale of their own, was swept off the face of the earth by the blighting hand of Islam, leaving the incomparable Vijayanagar to be remembered to-day as a second Carthage.

With the fall of the two Empires arose a nation that was, for a time, to sway the destinies of the whole of India.

The rise of the Mahrattas constitutes a most astounding epoch of history.

The rugged soil of the Koncan, a hilly tract on the West Coast of India, inured its people to the fatigues of common life, while the occasional inroads made into their territory by Mahomedans forged them into a defensive soldiery. As a race, they played no important part in the long role of our history till the time of Aurangazeb when the spirit of one man so communicated itself into the whole people that they were suddenly quickened into a most formidable and fiery nation. And he who thus electrified them was the celebrated Shivaji. At first, he gathered round his youth a lot of adventurous characters imbued with the finest mettle who, in time, swelled to a mighty proportion. He probed into their inmost nature and drilled them into an efficient predatory host. With the sight of a hawk, he perceived the greatness of his nation lurking beneath the fanatic ruins of Aurangazeb's Empire. He enunciated the policy of rearing one's national greatness upon the plunder of other races. Such a policy, once accepted and acted upon, freely engenders a courage, born, of course, of human weakness, but quick, dashing and regardless of consequences. It is not surprising then that the powers of the Dekkan and even the Great Mogul should have reeled before the assaults of the Mahrattas. They carried the splendour of their arms and the terrors of their brigandage into regions far beyond Maharashtra, into the Punjab, Upper India, Bengal and Delhi itself and exacted from them all their Chouth, that is, a fourth part of the revenue as blackmail. And thus grew up the greatness and solidarity of their kingdom. From 1650 to 1818, the Mahrattas were supreme in India. Towards the close of Aurangazeb's reign began the consolidation of their power, both as sovereign rulers and predatory hosts of irresistible might and terror. Maharashtra was a sort of monarchic Republic, the chief ruler being the Peishwa or prime minister. Baji Row was the most formidable of all the Peishwas who guided the destiny of the Mahratta people. Under him, their suzerainty rapidly extended over and comprised the richest provinces of Malwa, Orissa, Berar and Baroda. The Mahomedan rulers under the waning glory of the Crescent took alarm at the terrific growth of Mahratta power and, unable to stand any longer their aggression and their humiliating Chouth, rallied under the banner of the daring invader Ahmed Shah, determined to prove to the world who was to by the master of India, the Hindu or the Moslem; and they met at the field of Paniput in 1761. The day was fateful to the Hindus. It crushed them to the earth and gave a pyrric victory to the Mahomedans.

As yet the two races lay bleeding victims of a conflict which turned the political destiny of India, there sprang another power whose military valour blazed with religious ferocity. It was the valiant race of Sikhs. They came out, sword in hand, to set up their empire upon the ruins of Delhi whose desolation was now complete. The political condition of India about this time is best portrayed by Lord Macaulay in his essay on " Lord Clive ".

"Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul Empire during the forty years which followed the death of Aurangazeb. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes to prey on the defenseless wealth of Hindustan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi and bore away in triumph those treasurers the magnificence of which had astounded Roe and Bernier, the Peacock throne, on which the richest jewels of Golkonda had been disposed by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Ranjit Singh and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajaputana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rohilkand. The Seikhs ruled on the Indus. The Jauts spread dismay along the Jumna. The highlands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable a race which was long the terror of every native power and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, yielded only to the fortune and genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurangazeb that this wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains and, soon after his death, every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Gujarat, in Berar and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be free-booters. They still retained the predetory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever the kettle-drums were heard the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the Imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious blackmail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the wall of the palaces of Delhi. Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice-fields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their Magazines. Less than hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horse men of Berar ; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserve the memory of the danger. "

Now, imagine an India torn into ten-thousand fragments of hostility, a prey to invasions and massacres, a spectre of universal spoliation, internecine wars, misrule, tyranny, black-mail, anarchy and chaos and the miseries of a people living, rather struggling to live amidst conditions so horrifying ! And through the din and the dust, the tumult and the turmoil of a world of wars and calamities, the little bands of western merchants, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English in whose minds the political condition of India had quickened the idea of trade into an ambition of conquest and dominion, were straining every nerve and faculty of theirs to consolidate their position and, if possible, to take the place of the Great Mogul, now defunct. The French and the English, as survivors of the great Europeon game for the prize of India, were the chief aspirants for the Imperials way. The exigencies of the time dictated to them the policy of lending their military services to contending factions and rival rulers of provinces. Thus, for instance, in the year 1748, when the French took the sides of Muzafar Jang for the Nizamet and Chanda Saheb for the Nawabi of Arcot, the English took those of Nazir Jang and Mahomed Ali for the same issues. This sort of back-fight went on for a time till events so adjusted themselves both in the north and the south of India that they brought the English to the forefront among powers that were aspiring for the supremacy of all India. Now, Warren Hastings was Governor-General (1772). Left without a European rival, England stood confronted by the great warlike races like the Rohillas, the Mahrattas, the Jats, the Sikhs and great Mahomedan adventurers with whom she waged long and stubborn wars for over half a century. Many a hero like Champion, Rhamat Khan, Popham, Scindia, Harris, Gough, Wellesley, Holkar, Haider, Tippu, Staunton and Napier rises before us in his military glory as we contemplate the thrilling records of Katra, Porto Novo, Kharda, Malavelli, Assaye, Deeg, Kirkee, Sitabaldi, Mahidpur, Koregaon, Sobraon, Chillianwalla and other memorable fields where British and Indian heroim is sealed in abiding fame. Thus did England pass through her Red Sea in India and land on the other shore of unchallenged rule. British supremacy was now an accomplished fact. But this universal sovereignty was not without its trying moments. The year of the centenary of Plassey was a turning point in the history of British India. Nothing short of a miracle could have saved the British rule from being blown to extinction by the explosion of a rising known as the Revolt of '57.

For some time, the fair sky of India appeared dark and lowering. Black clouds of disaffection were gathering thick near the Himalayas and threatened to drop destruction upon the British Sovereignty. Political spirits with misguided zeal were busy perverting the hearts of the people against Government. The Vernacular press was free in the dissemination of ideas and stories calculated to engender the most bitter feelings against them. And above all, the sepoys were dissatisfied. And their dissatisfaction, growing on the religious dread of having to lose their caste at the touch of the British rifle, ripened into disaffection. At the same time, a false prophecy took hold of many a simpleton. It engrossed his time and his thought continually hatched upon the fulfilment of the prophecy which meant the annihilation of the British power in India just a centenary after Plassey. Everything was planned out with amazing rapidity and revolt was impatient of being let loose. Only a gust was needed to ignite the clouds of sedition and set the country in a blaze of destruction. And the gust was not slow to blow.

It was a Sunday evening, and everything seemed to repose in an ominous stillness, when, lo ! the bugle blares and instantly crashes the volley of muskets. Mutiny is out to enact one of the ghastliest scenes of human tragedy. It set the country like a forest in flames. It struck its first spark at Barrackpore whose sullen fires crept up to Meerut and put it aflame with fury; and the fury of most thrilling massacres and atrocities encompassed Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Rohilkand, Central India and Bundelkand and set them all in a roar of conflagration ; all Nerthern India was lost in a frenzy; its tremulous feelings veered with the flaring march of mutiny; the rule of England seemed swept out of its existence by a rebellion which stood triumphant upon the cinders of an ignited Empire. But, like the phoenix, it soon sprang to life again. Upon the very track of blood that was still reeking for vengeance, columns of British soldiers, drafted from Madras, Bombay and Ceylon hurried north and were galloping off every side quelling the rebellious crowds, punishing rhe ring-leaders and restoring peace and order where but a while ago terror reigned in a riot of blood. Then came a momentous change upon India. The Government was transferred from the Company to the Grown. The illustrious Queen Victoria, assisted by her Parliament, issued the famous Proclamation of '58, which is justly styled the Magna Charta of the Indian people. It is at once the manifestation of a meteor-mind and a bold unerring enunciation of the basic principles on which the British Rule operates in India. It was not wrested from an unwilling Sovereign under threat of arms on an

Indian Runnymede, but was given to us as a spontaneous message from Her Majesty, embodying the ruling genius, the spirit of philanthropy and the paternal guardianship of Britain over the 300 millions of India.

With the change of Government came also a great change upon the minds and hearts of the people. Loyalty began to flourish where disaffection had its play. The warrior races of the North and West turned to the cultivation of the arts of peace. A Christian Government became trustees for the great religions of the land. Freedom of faith and worship was declared an absolute gaurantee. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects. And those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and consencienciously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our services the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

"When by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the Government for the benefit of our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity shall be our strength, in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out our wishes for the good of our people." These are the royal sentiments and solemn assurances of the famous Charter; and India thus lulled into peace and security, the hand of Government was free to accomplish those reforms which have brought about her present transformation.

REFORMS.

History does not furnish a parallel to the phenomenal effusions and manifestations of humanity such as are witnessed in India. India is a land of marvels and mysteries, a land of many nations, languages and religions. Within its bounds dwell races of so many varieties and such distinctive types of ethnology that it is appro-priately called a "museum of races." "There are the giant races of the Northwest Frontier, the wild Baluch with his matted locks, the swinging Punjabi, and the fierce Pathan; the majestic Sikh with his divided beard and knotted hair; the sturdy athletic little Gurkha of sallow complexion and close-slit eyes; the tall and handsome Kashmiri with the fair skin which marks him true blooded Aryan ; the graceful and intellectual Bengali ; the keen and wiry Mahratta ; the intelligent and gentle Tamil—the cultured Syrian Christian from Travancore ; and the shaggy little aborigines from the central hills, still using bow and arrow. Can Europe produce a like variety ?" (Holland's " Goal of India"). Strictly speaking India is not a country but a continent by itself comprising an area of 1,806,000 square miles. It has a population of 319, millions, which is three-fourths of the population of the British Empire. Of these, 247,000,000, inhabit British India while the Indian States hold nearly 72,000,000. The chief provinces directly under the British rule are Bengal (46,695.000), Madras (45,319,000) Bombay (19,348,000), United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (45,375,000), Punjab (20,680,000), Bihar and Orissa (34.000,000), Burma (13,212,000), Assam (7,990,000), Central Provinces and Berar (15,979,000), and N. W. Frontier Province (5,076,000). And of the 700 Indian States, the most important are Hyderabad (12,471,000), Rajputana (9,844,000), Bombay States (7,409,000), Mysore (5,978,000), Travancore (4,006,000), Central India (5,997,000), Kashmir (3,320.000), Gwalior (3,186,000) and Baroda (2,126,000). Among a population so multitudinous and spread over hundreds of thousands of square miles, there must be a great diversity in the condition of their life and character. There must be diversity in living, in speech, in dress, in creed and in civilisation. It is no wonder that 222 languages are recorded as comprising the tongue of India. And, of scores of religions, the most important are Hinduism (216,735,000), Mahomedanism (68,754,000), Buddhism (11,571,000), Animism (9,774,000), Christianity (4,754,000) and Jainism (1,178,000). Our idea of the immense variety of these races and religions gets bewildered when we consider the caste system which governs 219 millions with uncompromising rigour, splitting them up into divisions and subdivisions without number. In the Brahman caste alone which is a little over 14 millions, there are 1800 subdivisions. To crown these endless contrarieties come the ferocious differences of religion. If there is anything in this world that puts a keen edge to the sword of quick enmity, it is religious intolerance. Religion is the depository of the burning charities of God; but men have usedit for far different purposes. It is in the name of religion that ruling powers have sanctioned the commission of the grossest atrocities upon their fellow beings.

It is under the red flag of religion that humanity has so often been bled to death by the relentless whip of persecution. The unmerited insult, the barefaced injustice, the brutal treatment, the infernal social tyranny the lacerations, amputations and persecutions inflicted upon the lower orders of Hindus under the Brahman supremacy of the old Swaraj; the caves and catacombs of ancient Rome; the restless racks and gibbets and the frightful inquisitions of Christian Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the rivers of blood that was shed in the propagation of the Koran wherever its name was pronounced, are thrilling and abiding evidences of what was and can yet be done in the name of religion. In India to-day, there are the Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Christians, Jains, Parsees, Sikhs and peoples of various other persuasions, among whom there is not one who would tamely suffer an indignity offered to the faith they hold sacred. And we are just living at a time when there is ample evidence of it all round.

There is yet another mournful fact to recall at this place. There were always in the country laws and institutions for the people ; but they were antagonistic in character and merit. Some were morally excellent and others were injurious. What was popular with one class was distasteful to the other. What added to the honour of one community contributed to the degradation of others. Peace at one side was war at the other. Hence there could be no happiness, no such feeling as the exhilarating pride of a peaceful nation, but only vexation and animosity among the people. And so, there was this picture of a ponderous incongruity of races, religions, intellects, institutions and morals. A mighty power, indeed, it must be that could wedge through this impenetrable tangle of Indian society, bring all races and faiths and tongues under one flag, force peace upon them, rule them with absolute justice and integrity and effect reforms that would be commensurate with its own greatness and in keeping with the glorious traditions of India.

Now, coming to the British rule, if we take our start at a point of history, say, about the latter part of the eighteenth century and climb down the path of administration from Warren Hastings to Lord Irwin, we find the first spring of India's progress slowly brightening up into broader paths and leading to a region where the full blaze of summer is yet to come. It may be remembered here that by the time India passed into the hands of the British, whatever remained of the ancient heritage of the people had either been swept out of existence or fast disappearing owing to constant inroads and wars which razed monarchies, governments and institutions to the ground. There was no rigid code of laws. Justice was administered at will by magnates appointed by absolute rulers. As a natural consequence, there was general oppression, misrule and misery everywhere. Moreover, a good deal of immoral practices and dangerous crimes prevailed all over the country from remote ages. Under the aegis of a state of impotency and anarchy, there arose several races which flourished on plunder, murder and similar crimes which became their sacred and hereditary professions. They made gods and goddesses of these crimes and offered parts of their spoils for their propitious acceptance.

SOCIAL REFORMS.

As no good can be done while evil prevails, the Government began their series of reforms by first suppressing social crimes, the most notorious of which was *dacoity*. The dacoits were generations of robbers who lived by systematic plunder. Seldom was there a spot of some note that was not visited by them. They were human wolves who infested the whole country. They would suddenly pounce upon unsuspecting villages with clubs, swords and torches, flay alive the principal inhabitants, burn the villages, outrage maidens and kill or carry away children along with the spoils of rapacity.

Another species of crime that was molesting India from very ancient time was *Thuggee*. To have a true idea of the crime and the way it was practised and suppressed, I cannot do better than quote the modern historian Dr. Vincent Smith on the subject. " The Government of Lord William Bentink has to its credit the suppression of a second semireligious atrocity, (the first being Suttee) the organised secret system of murder called *Thuggee*, which was practised by both Mahomedans and Hindus with the supposed sanction of the Hindu goddess variously named Kali Devi, Durga or Bawani. The initiated regarded their victims as sacrifices pleasing to that deity, on whose protection they relied with unquestioning faith. They never felt the slightest compunction or remorse for their crimes, however horrible, believing themselves to be predestined to their mode of gaining a living, as their victims were to death. The system probably attained its highest devolopment in the early years of the nineteenth century, during which thousands of travellers must have been slaughtered annually. One man confessed to having been concerned in the murder of 719 persons.

" The Thugs or cheats, as the word means, formed a secret society extending over the whole of India, except the Konkan on the western coast. They used among themselves a secret code of words and signs intelligible to initiated Thugs anywhere. Initiation was celebrated by an impressive ceremonial, including the consumption of gur or raw sugar in a sacramental manner. The organisation was complete; each man having his special duty, whether as strangler, grave-digger, scout or other. The gangs varied greatly in strength, the largest recorded having numbered 360 men. In every part of the country they enjoyed protection and aid from many chiefs, landholders and merchants, ostensibly respectable. Such persons were sometimes actually members of the secret society. Thugs occasionally obtained employment in the service of European gentlemen and performed their duties to the satisfaction of their employers, taking leave now and then to go secretly on expedition.

"The Thugs, formed by the insecure state of the roads and lack of efficient police, travelled in gangs large or small, usually unarmed and appearing to be pilgrims, ascetics, or other harmless way farers. By means of ingenious tricks and false pretences, they secured confidence of their intended victims, who were murdered at a place appointed where the graves had been dug in advance. Such burying places were extremely numerous. Sleeman published a map showing 274 of them in the small province of Oudh about half the size of Ireland and was horrified to learn that one such cemetery was within march of his court house at Narsingpur in the Sagar and Narbada territories, now included in the Central Provinces. Murder was usually but not invariably effected by strangulation with a handkerchief or scarp used as a noose which experience showed to be the safest method. The gangs, although on rare occasions detected and broken up in the same particular locality by the action of a chief or magistrate, had little to fear, and enjoyed almost complete impunity. The ordinary peasants and watchmen frequently were in league with them and shared their blood-stained gains; while, as noted above, they always had the support of powerful protectors. The moral feelings of the people had sunk so low that there were no signs of general reprehension of the cold-blooded crimes committed by the Thugs. They were accepted as part of the established order of things; and, until the secrets of the organisation were given away by approvers, it was usually impossible to obtain evidence against even the most notorious Thugs...The murder trade, as everything else in India, was hereditary. 'Thuggee Sleeman', otherwise known as Sir William Sleeman, K. C. B. took the most prominent part in destroying the Thug organisation. He was aided by many competent colleagues, supported cordially by Lord William Bentink, who passed a series of special Acts to regulate the proceedings of the officers selected to crush the gangs. During the years 1831—37, 3266 Thugs were disposed of in one way or another; 412 out of that number being hanged and 483 admitted as approvers. The approvers and their descendants were detained for many years in a special institution at Jabalpur."

Infanticide was another item in the old criminology. It is deplorable to learn that those who killed children were their own mothers. Infants were thrown in large numbers to the yawning Ganges in fulfilment of a vow, or killed as propitiatory sacrifice to some god or goddess. Generally it was the female ones that became victims to this species of crime. As soon as they were born, their mothers murdered them in cold blood either from consideration of unequal alliance in-marriage or for fear of incurring heavy expenses in such laborious contracts. It was extensively practised in Northern India, in the North-

West Provinces, in Oudh, in the Punjab, and in the Bombay Presidency. In Rajaputana, for instance, the number of female infants who were put to death, "computed, without exaggeration, at 20,000 annually. These murders were committed generally under the directions of the father either by starvation or by the administration of drugs; in some cases, the mother became the murderer of her own offspring by rubbing her nipples with opium which speedily extinguished infant life" (Marshman). "In 1869. on special investigations it was found that in seven villages there were 104 boys and one girl; in 23 villagse 284 boys and 23 girls, in other villages the marriage of a girl was entirely unknown. In 1870, an act of legislation was passed which enabled Government to deal with the subject. A system of registration of births and deaths was established with constant inspection and enumeration of children. In 1874 the population under special register numbered 359,000. In 1867, it was over 200,000. In 1891, it had fallen to 62,000. In Manipur district where there was once hardly a single Chaubian girl nearly half of the Chaubian children are at the present time girls" (Strachey).

Of all the reforms effected for the moral elevation of India, that which reflects the highest credit upon the British rule is the suppression of Suttee. It was an over due reform. "Suttee" means a pure and faithful woman. Its rite consists in the self-immolation of a woman on the funeral pyre of her dead husband in the hope of being united to him in the other world. This was practised from unrecorded times in Central and Western Asia and in parts of Eastern Europe and introduced into

India; but at what particular period of her existence it is difficult to tell. The Vedas, it is said, make no such enjoinment although there was the Brahminic tradition. It was not an act of strict religious duty but purely a quasi-religious and social custom which grew out of the peculiar exigency in which the widow found herself placed. But, as time went on, it was so universally practised and magnified with the ceremonies of religion that, from a purely voluntary act, it practically became, with the idea of honour that attached to this practice, obligatory on all widows. Here, in the act of compulsiont, is seen, in greater relief, the criminality of the deed. Instances have, no doubt, been recorded where widows displayed superhuman courage, as they calmly and cheerfully lay themselves down by their dead husbands to be burnt to ashes along with them. But with the generality of them, the case could not have been the same. Fire was fire to them as well as to anybody else. And who could disarm its terrors? The poor widow, doomed to a fate from which she could not escape, would often faint or reel in despair at the deadly sight. But her relations and priests as well would goad her on to this involuntary suicide. They had interests of their own, for the property and the jewels would be coveted by them. If threats, entreaties, mockeries, vituperations and kindred acts failed, they would stifle her consciousness under the influence of strong drugs and throw her on the flame. If the widow, however noble in birth, had the misfortune, through fear or pain, to jump out of it, she was not pitched on the fire again, nor was she taken back to her relatives, but she must go and live with the grave-digger, an untouchable outcast. And, in the case of rulers who had hundreds of wives, the case was alarming. If one of them died, all his queens underwent compulsory sacrifice by burning themselves on the funeral pyre along with their dead royal consort. "The most wholesale burnings on record were those perpetrated from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century at the obsequies of the Telugu Rayas of Vijianagar. Nuniz states: 'that when a captain dies, however many wives he has they all burn themselves; and when the king dies, they do the same. Sometimes the sacrifice was accomplished by burial alive'. The same author credits the king with 500 wives and all these burn themselves at his death. The earlier traveller, Nicolo Conti, was informed that the king had 12,000 wives, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 were selected, on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them. (Sewell, A Forgotten Empire 1900). Between the years 1815 and 1828, suttees were extremely numerous in Bengal, and especially in the districts around Calcutta. The worst year was 1818 when 839 burnings were recorded for the whole of the Bengal Presidency including Rohilkand, of which 544 occurred in the Calcutta division. In 1828, the corresponding numbers were 463 and 309. The figures give the suttees officially recorded. Many unreported cases must have occurred."

For a pretty long time the Government were apparently, indifferent spectators of the tragic performance of Suttee. But the time came when they could not conscientiously suffer its continuance any longer. But their prudence indicated to them the policy of allying the sympathy of the people with its suppression. It could not be a matter of a day. The efforts of Government in this regard extended over a period of a quarter of a century. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the process of suppression went on through a series of official despatches, consultations with learned pundits and expedient measures till 1829, when Lord William Bentink, the immortal statesman,after securing the unanimous opinion and approval of the Judges of the Highest Criminal Courts, the high officers of the army, police and civil administration and important private individuals including that illustrious son of India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, by an act of law founded on British justice, once for all put a stop to the inhuman practice of burning widows on the fire, and the equally atrocious crime of burying them alive.

Kidnapping children was another species of crime with which the law had to wrestle for its eradication. There were bands of roving "Sanyasis" or hermits who posed sanctimonious appearances and were reputed to be holy. They went about absolutely naked. They had no settled home, but roamed from one end of Northern India to the other stealing the healthiest children in the countries they passed through. By these kidnapped children they swelled their bands, each of which consisted of several thousands. The Government had constantly to use severe measures to hunt them down, till in time, they dwindled in numbers and disappeared.

Of all the plundering hordes that had kept the country in terror, the *Pindaris* were, by far, the worst.

Their strength is variously given. But, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were about 30.000. Like all criminal tribes, their chief home was Northern India, because it is wider and richer than the South. They rode on fierce horses in batches of two or three thousand under the leadership of their captain for the doomed province. They then divided into groups, surprised cities and rural districts, made a clean swoop of all the cattle, property, jewels and money, tortured or did away with innocent lives, indulged in the outrage of women, wantonly destroyed whatever they could not carry away; and then returned to their fastnesses. Here are two samples of their atrocities. "Udaipur, the capital of Mewar, with 50,000 houses, after the visitation of Pindaris in 1815 had only 3000 left. The rest were in ruins. The rafters were taken for firewood...In 1816 they broke into Northern Circars, and in 12 days, the brigands plundered 339 villages, 182 persons were cruelly killed, 505 severely wounded and 3,603 subjected to different kinds of tortures. Many women destroyed themselves in order to escape dishonour." Towards the close of the year 1818, hunted from place, the Pindaris were either extirpated or those that survived settled down to a quiet life

Human sacrifice :—From earliest times, it had been an act of popular religion to offer up human sacrifices to some gods or goddesses either to gain some favours or to appease their wrath or seek their protection. Thus, to Bhooma Devi, the earth-goddess, during sowing and harvest seasons, human sacrifices were offered. These victims, after undergoing a most tortuous rite in the presence of the goddess, were killed by the yelling mob. Their flesh torn into bits and their blood were used as manure for fields. And there was the Kali, the goddess of wrath, to whom, especially during periods of calamity, such as the outbreaks of epidemics, human victims were offered as propitiatory sacrifice. This was prevalent among the Khonds and other hill-tribes of Orissa. In 1835, these tribes came under the British rule; and between the years 1837-54, for instance, no less than 1,506 victims were rescued by Government. Under the administration of Lord Hardinge, serious steps were taken for the extinction of the horrible practice of human sacrifice, which was accomplished in the year 1854. "The cruel rites varied in different localities which may be taken as a sample; one of the most common ways of offering the sacrifice in Chinna Kimedy is to the effigy of an elephant rudely carved in wood, fixed on the top of a stout post on which it is made to revolve. After the performance of the usual ceremonies, the wretched Meriah (consecrated victim) is fastened to the proboscis of the elephant and amidst the shouts and yells of the excited Khonds, is rapidly whirled round when, at a given signal by the officiating "*zani*" or priest, the crowd rush in, seize the Meriah, and with their knives cut off the flesh from the shrieking victim as long as life remains. He is then cut down, the skeleton burnt, and the horrid orgies are over. In several villages, I counted as many as fourteen effigies of elephants which had been used in former sacrifices." (Smith).

Slavery is moral death. It is a rotten carcass in a healthy sphere. It pulls down the prince of creation from the highest eminence of humanity to the lowest level of the brute least with the rope of subjection round his neck, by which he is pulled, ruled or put to death by the sovereign will of his master who is a man like himself. The idea of slavery is revolting in the extreme to every sensitive and noble mind. And yet, side by side, with vast culture and civilisation in ancient times and pre-British periods as well, slavery appears to have been rampant in India. There were many millions of slaves scattered over the country in some form or another. There were the court-slaves. As an example let me quote 'Smith': "Slave-raiding. We are informed by the same author (Ziauddin Barani)—that the Sultan (Firuz Shah) was very diligent in providing slaves, and he carried his care so far as to command his fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court....Those chiefs who brought many slaves received the highest favour....About 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds. Forty-thousand were every day in readiness to attend as guards in the Sultan's equipage or at the palace. Altogether in the city and in the various fiefs, there were 180,000 slaves, for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultan took special care. The institution took root in the very centre of the land, and the Sultan looked upon its due regulation as one of his incumbent duties. Such wholesale slave raiding clearly must have been the cause of much suffering, even though it be admitted that the slaves after capture were well treated....The slaves, of course, all became Mussulmans, and the proselytism thus effected probably was the chief reason why the Sultan favoured the system. After his death, most of his slaves were killed by his successors."

Slavery was a destinctive feature of Mogul India. Emperors, courtiers, magistrates and millionaires had all armies of slaves as an appendage to their pomp and vanity. They lived at the will of their masters, their lives were at their mercy: they could be sold with or without their wives and children, as part of their household property. They could be put to death single or wholesale. They had not as much as an atom of right to ask why. Slavery went beyond the court and the mansion. History speaks of predial slavery of an extended character in Mogul days. These were slaves attached to fields and farms. They formed part of agricultural property. When the manor-lord sold his cattle, ploughs, and other implements, the slaves went with them. Behind the glitter and glory, the pomp and magnificence of Mogul courts lay the grim factor that mainly contributed to those dazzling splendours of Delhi before which the world even to-day stands in awe and wonder,—the belaboured sweat and the tears of unhappy millions enchained to a soil from which they could hardly squirm. Rural slavery could not be killed out in India even after the British supremacy had been established. It stuck on till 1843 when, under Lord Ellenborough, an Act was passed prohibiting the legality of the sanction and the practice of slavery throughout India.

From the recent reports on India laid before Parliament by Lord Winterton, Under-Secretary of State, we learn that in 1926, through the benign efforts of Government, a colony of about 3,487 in number was emancipated in the unadministered country of Hukaung Valley. It had a population of about 10,000 souls of whom nearly one-third were slaves. In January 1926 the Government of Burma visited this area and interviewed the local chiefs for the purpose of paying a certaim sum per head. Accordingly, in April 1926, the Government redeemed the slaves of Hukaung Valley after paying Rs. 1,25,000, as ransom money to their masters. One half of these, of their own will, remained in the country while the other half were brought out to settle in the British territory.

Piracy was carried on on the western seas since the day that the Pandyan Kings had commercial intercourse with Rome. Like all other crimes in India, it remained unsuppressed till 1812 when, as a result of the wars between the Mahrattas and the English, the pirate chieftains, who had their strongholds between the western ghats and the sea, had to reckon with their new masters. It was not, however, till after 1818 when the Mahratta power was overthrown and the remaining coast-land between Kolhapur and Goa was ceded to the English that serious measures were enforced which put down all piratical practices which had been disgracing this part of the coast of India for eighteen centuries. Nor were the Eastern Coasts immune from sea-robbery. Burmese pirates used to sail up the great rivers flowing into the Bay of Bengal, commit ravages on villages, rob, kill, or carry away their inhabitants as slaves. "The first English surveyor in the second half of the eighteenth century entered on his map a fertile and now populous tract of 1,000 sq. miles on the sea-board as bare of villages with the words, "Depopulated by the Maghs" or sea-robbers."

CHAPTER III.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

Regarding the principal occupation of India, we find that, of a population of 319 millions over 229,000,000, that is, 72 per cent pursue agriculture and pasture ; 31,000,000 are engaged in various industries and nearly one-fourth of these in textile industry ; 6,500,000 live on cotton industry, while 4,825,000 are in Government services. From this we see that India is mainly an agricultural country. The prosperity of the country depends upon the prosperity of this occupation. Therefore agriculture takes the foremost place in administration. The State, as the ruling power, has a right to the revenue of all the land. The assessment of lands varies in different places according to the nature of settlements which are either permanent or subject to periodical revisions once in 20 or 30 years. Lord Cornwallis tried permanent settlement, under which come Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, parts of Madras and Assam. There is another system called the ryatwari.' Here, the ryat or the peasant proprietor holds the lands directly from Government to whom also he is directly responsible. And so long as he pays his assessments, he holds his lands indefinitely and cannot be ejected by Government. This system was in vogue in Mogul India, and was re-introduced on a revised scale by Sir Thomas Munro in 1824. In its revision again in 1855, the ryat is given full freedom to give up his lands if he wished to do so, and extensive protection and help to improve his estates. There are again large proprietors of lands, called Zamindars and they are assessed on their estates as a whole, which ranges from 40 to 50 per cent on the income paid to them by their cultivating tenants ; while, in the ryatwari system, it varies from 20 down to 8 per cent on the gross produce.

The life of a peasant is subject to great vicissitudes. Sometimes there come upon him sudden calamities such as heavy floods. Monsoons might fail ; and then his fields are as parched and barren as a desert. He has other evils troubling him at every step. Of all the causes that bring about the miseries of the agriculturist, like the evil social practice of displaying wilful extravagance in domestic affairs, such as marriage, the boring of holes in children's ears, the attainment of a girl to womanhood, and other vanity shows which compel him to sell away his estates or else heavily mortgage them and plunge headlong into despair by signing his contract of servitude under a sowcar ; the pitiable ignorance as a result of illiteracy which renders him blind to the lessons of thrift and powerless against the onslaught of evil customs, the national craze for jewellery even at the sacrifice of the necessaries of life, the ravages of fields by insects, animals and thieves ; heavy taxation, physical ills and epidemics, the most dreadful is famine. A little paragraph on the subject in the Indian Year Book 1927, puts a world of horrors in a nut-shell.

"*History of Recent Famines* :—The Orissa famine of 1865-67 may be taken as the starting point because that induced the first great and organised effort to combat distress through State agency. It affected 180,000 square miles and 47,500,000 people. The Bengal Government was a little slow in appreciating the need for action, but late food was poured into the district in prodigious quantities. Thirty-five million units were relieved (a unit is one person supported for one day) at a cost of 95 lakhs. The mortality was very heavy, and it is estimated that a million people or one-third of the population, died in Orissa alone. This was followed by the Madras famine of 1866, and the famine in Western India of 1868-70. The latter famine introduced India to the great migration from Marwar which was such a distinguishing feature of the famine of 1899-1900; it is estimated that out of a total population of a million and a half in Marwar, one million emigrated. There was famine in Behar in 1873-74, then came the great South Indian famine of 1876-78. This affected Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay for two years and in the second year extended to the parts of the Central and United Provinces and to a small tract in the Punjab. The total area affected was 257,000 square miles and the population 58,500,000. Warned by the excessive expenditure in Behar and actuated by the desire to secure economy, the Government relief programme was not entirely successful. The excessive mortality in this famine is said to have been 5,250,000 in British territory alone. Throughout British India 700,000,000 units were relieved at a cost of Rs. 8⅓ crores. Charitable contributions from Great Britain and the Colonies aggregated to Rs. 84 lakhs."

By painful experiences gathered from these famines and other causes the Government came to the conclusion that the greatest need of the farmer is credit, that is, state loans and advances as a protective as well as a promotive help, by which he may stand aloof from the door of the money-lender, pick himself up if he is down in life. buy cattle, implements and seeds, and make his industry a flourishing concern. And so, in the well-being of the vast farming class, the Government passed various Acts such as, the Dekkan Agriculturists Relief Act in 1879, the Bombay-Jansi Encumbered Estate Act in 1882 and the Land Improvement Loan Act in 1884. To check the unrestrained tendency of tenants to transfer their lands and drift to bankruptcy, the Punjab Alienation Act was passed in 1900 and amended in 1907. But, whether through unavoidable causes or through the incapacity of an unthrift peasantry to utilise the opportunities afforded by these Acts, the results fell far short of what they were enacted for. The worst famine of 1899-1900 afforded fresh evidence of the inability of the agricultural community to stand the ravages of famine, and in normal time to evince any sign of prosperity. Therefore in 1901, Lord Curzon instituted a Commission to investigate fully into the condition of the peasant population and recommend practical and effective means of improving them. The Commission specially recommended the introduction of Co-operation along with the awakening of moral sense towards practical prudence and thrift. And so in 1904 Co-operative Societies were started with the object of more effectively than ever freeing the peasant from indebtedness and, advancing loans at a very low interest as State encouragement, to enable him with the lessons of prudent economy to stabilise his position and improve his industry, and during crisis, to take heart and hold his own.

The number of societies (Central, Supervising and Guaranteeing Unions, Agricultural and Non-agricultural) average for four years from 1906-07 to 1909-10 was 1,926; 47,503 in 1920-21, and 71,608 in 1924-25. Their membership, for corresponding periods was 161,910, 1,752,904 and 2,629,830. Its working capital was Rs. 68,12,000, Rs. 26,42,93,000 and Rs. 48,19,29,000. The total amount of loans advanced to members by agricultural and non-agricultural societies during the years 1924-25 were Rs. 91,213,245 and Rs. 5,46,91,637 respectively

Agricultural education is given in 8 Agricultural Colleges at Poona, Coimbatore, Lyallpur, Nagpur, Cawnpore, Mandalay, Sabour and Dacca; 16 Agricultural High Schools, one Research Institute at Pusa and the Imperial Institute of Animal Husbandry and Dairying at Bangalore. The cause of this surprising pausity in Agricultural institutions is to be traced to the inactivity and despondency of Government as a result of the general intellectual backwardness of farming classes, added to their palpable aversion to any suggestion or deviation from ancestral methods towards improvements on scientific lines. Therefore, as far as practicable, ideas of such improvements, however elementary, are, when necessary, imparted to them by oral demonstration and not by literature.

The most urgent and the most important of all commissions The Royal Commission on Agriculture came and went back to England. They came to India in August 1926 and held their first sessions in the Punjab, Bombay and Madras Presidencies and Bengal. Their investigations cover extensive fields of enquiry for the practical working up of Indian Agriculture to a most thriving and stable industry. But the main feature remains as the crux of the whole problem; the unyielding and unproductive mental soil which, if worked steadily through a rapid process of time and by the unflagging energy of those who have the responsibility of shaping and guiding their destiny, will doubtless intensify the productive capacity of the agricultural soil and enable them to marshall their natural talents and build up their thrift and prosperity independant of external help. The Indian members went with the Commission to England to study the Agricultural conditions of that country which might enhance their experience and capacity to turn Indian Agriculture to greater advantage. And they returned to India in August 1927. The Commission came back again in the first week of November 1927 to resume their prolonged sessions in India and have commenced their first labours in Burma. Their Report will assuredly be the most effective solution of India's most intricate and difficult problem of Agriculture, upon the prosperity of which depend the lives and the well being of three-fourths of her population.

MATERIAL PROGRESS.

The most useful of the material progress introduced into the country are the construction of Roads, Railways and Canals. India of olden days could boast of no great roads. "No native prince made a road. Before the establishment of our Government, there was hardly a road deserving the name in all India. Under the native governments which preceded us (I am quoting from the Indian Famine Commission of 1880) nothing more was done than to plant trees along each side of the track used as a road, and occasionally to throw up earth on it when it passed through a depression. Such bridges as existed were made at the private expense of civil magistrates or governors desirous of leaving a name behind them." (Stachey). The political circumstances of those times were evidently the cause of negligence in this line. There was nothing of a solid character to afford protection to rulers and people. They lived in dread of unforeseen evils, such as a sudden invasion from far or near or a visitation of plundering hordes. And so, in those days of insecurity, the powers that were did not think it worth their while to construct roads and canals. Lack of peace led to progress of decay. India was a land of warring kingdoms with impassable tracts of jungles and rivers between them. Travelling was tedious and unsafe; and, in many cases, impossible. There is another reason why roads were a scarcity in those days. The people were conservative to their soil. Each province stood for itself. Isolation formed the economic basis. They found everything for their raiment and subsistence within their own confinements. Industries flourished for the people of the district and they were sufficient for local demands. The ideas of the time, the nature of conveyances and the discouraging tendencies to travel did not inspire the idea of making broad, solid roads.

The British Government had no easy task in effecting progress of this kind. Their first labours were put forth in 1843 in the North-West Provinces and gradually extended to the Upper Provinces. In 1850 a road for mail cart ran from Calcutta to Delhi. But it was only during the regime of Lord Dalhousie that strenuous measures were adopted to remedy the drawbacks of past days. That vigorous administrator, with more than human courage, conceived and gave effect to the magnificent plan of roads, railways, telegraph lines and canals throughout India. In 1853, he created the Department of Public Works. The most notable material development under Lord Dalhousie was the construction of the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Punjab. Since his time, road-making has engaged the serious attention of Local Governments, Municipalities and District Boards. And, at the present day, India is pretty well equipped with ordinary and trunk roads, free from the deadly molestations of old. But 200,000 miles of roads in a continent like India do not count much. And even these are said to deteriorate. The Ministers have now to face the double problem of renewing and extending them over the country.

We come to Railways. "The history of Indian Railways very closely reflects the financial vicissitudes of the country. Not for some time after the establishment of Railways in England was their construction in India contemplated, and then to test their applicability to Eastern conditions three experimental lines were sanctioned in 1845. These were from Calcutta to Raniganj (120 miles), the East Indian Railway; Bombay to Kalyan (33 miles), Great Indian Peninsular Railway; and Madras to Arkonam (39 miles), Madras Railway. Indian Railways building on a serious scale dates from Lord Dalhousie's great minute of 1853, wherein, after dwelling upon the great social, political and commercial advantages of connecting the chief cities by rail, he suggested a great scheme of trunk lines linking the Presidencies with each other and the inland regions with the principal ports. This reasoning commended itself to the Directors of the East India Company, and it was powerfully reinforced when during the Mutiny the barriers imposed on the free communication were severely felt. As there was no private capital in India available for railway construction, English companies the interest on whose capital was guaranteed by the State, were formed for the purpose. By the end of 1859 contracts had been entered into with eight companies for the construction of 5,000 miles of line, involving a guaranteed capital of £52 millions. These companies were (1) The East Indian; (2) the Great Indian Peninsula; (3) the Madras; (4) the Bombay-Baroda and Central India; (5) the Eastern Bengal (6) the Indian Branch, now Oudh and Rohilkand State Railway; (7) the Sindh, Punjab and Delhi, now merged in the North-Western State Railway; (8) the Great Southern of India now the South Indian Railway. The Scheme laid the foundations of the Indian Railway system as it exists to-day." (The Indian Year Book, 1927).

The Chief Railways that exist at the present day are :—(1) The Assam-Bengal Railway with a mileage of 1,056; (2) the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, 2,550 miles; (3) the Bombay-Baroda Railway, 3,084 miles ; (4) the Burma Railways, 1,894 miles ; (5) the Eastern Bengal Railway, 2,577 miles; (6) The East Indian Railway, 6,214 miles ; (7) the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, 5,183 miles ; (8) the Madras Railway, 3,020 miles ; (9) the North-Western Railway, 6,536 miles ; (10) the Oudh and Rohilkand Railway (amalgamated with East Indian Railway) ; (11) the South Indian Railway, 1,908 miles. The principal Railways in Indian States are (1) the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway; (2) the Kathiawar Railways ; (3) the Jodhpur and Bikaner Railways and (4) the Mysore State Railway. The total length of Railways in India till the close of the year 1925-26 was 38,579 with a total outlay of Rs. 7,51,31,52,000. There were 2,446 miles of Railway under construction.

The Railways run throughout the length and breadth of India connecting the great cities of the Empire, branching out and stretching far into populous and trading centres. Apart from the facility they afford as a means of communication, their moral influence is incalculable. If hitherto the Indian would felt handicapped in its moral and material advancement, if its intellectual activities stood enchained and embarrassed, if ignorance swayed the masses and injustice and disorders flourished in places by reason of inaccessibility to those parts, all these evils have been, to a great extent, minimised by the introduction of Railway ; and the history of famines which are the greatest scourage of India says that the Railway, like the Irrigation works, has been, since its introduction, the means of saving hundreds of millions from starvation, epidemics and death in myriad ways.

Concurrent with the Railway run Telegraph lines linking every part of the Indian Empire and the Empire itself by cable with the rest of the world in instantaneous conversation and making the heart throb in response to every appeal which the human race makes in moral, material, political and intellectual advancement. The total length of telegraph including cable lines up till 31st March 1925 was 93,054 miles with 477,839 miles of wire. The number of paid telegrams was 19,842,600.

Along with the consideration of telegraph come the wireless and the telephone. The total number of Departmental wireless stations opened at the end of 1924-25 was twenty, the chief centres being Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Karachi, Lahore, Madras, Rangoon and Secunderabad. The telephone exchanges established by the Department on March 31st, 1924 was 231 with 12,007 straight line connections and 1,624 extension telephone.

Another mighty accomplishment of the Government in the welfare of India is revealed in the Irrigation works. " The liability of India to drought and its attendant famine, the remarkable benefits resulting from irrigation in all seasons, good or bad, and the magnitude of undertakings carried out by Indian Government in this connection, make the subject of Indian Irrigation one of special interest and importance " (Chesney). This is a subject that affects the existence of millions. If the periodical rains are regular, every grain of sand that the Indian peasant treads on is a grain of gold. But drought has become so frequent and famine assumes such awful proportions in the mortality it causes that the ablest statesmen feel perplexed in their attempt to find an adequate remedy to counteract the evil. The records of havoc caused by famines are too frightful to recount.

" We will quote what Mr. S. M. Mitra writes of famines in Akbar's reign. It is admitted by every one that Akbar's reign was the best in the Mahomedan period of Indian History. Let us see how the Great Akbar fared as regards famine. Three great famines desolated the country during his reign. The Mahomedan historian wrote,—" "men could not find corn ; they were driven to the extremity of eating each other, and some formed themselves into parties to carry off lone individuals for their food ......at the time of famine and distress, parents were allowed to sell their children......In the 42nd year of Akbar's reign, 1596 A.D., a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years throughout the whole of Hindustan. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period and depopulated whole cities to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, human flesh was eaten. The streets and roads were blocked with dead bodies and no assistance could be made for their removal." (From Lady Benson's Lecture).

Be it said to the credit of the Mahomedan rulers of India that immense canals were dug by Firuz Shah in the 14th century, and later by Akbar and Shah Jahan. But with the disruption of the Empire of Delhi on the death of Aurangázeb, they fell into disuse. And all that exists now of this species of work is purely of British origin. As an aggregate result of British labour in India's grave necessity there are the Chenab, the Sutlej and the Sirhind canals in the Punjab; the Jumna, the Agra, the Rohilkand and the Ganges canals in the United Provinces and Central India; the Sone and the Midnapur canals of Bengal; and the Godaveri, the Kistna and the Cauveri canals in the Dekkan. The grandest of these is the Ganges canal which is 1,000 miles long. The total length of the main and branch canals managed by Government at a cost of £ 59,558,000 is 66,754 miles, and they irrigate 27½ million acres of land affording protection to several millions against drought and famine. " Speaking in the House of Commons on the Indian estimates on July 10th 1925, Lord Winterton stated that in India the total area under irrigation is nearly one-eighth of the entire cropped area of the country. Between Lord Curzon's Irrigation Commission of 1901-03 and the year 1922, the number of irrigation works of importance in India has exactly doubled, and the area irrigated by them has increased during the same period from 10,656,000 acres to 18,762,000 acres. Further, since 1922, nineteen other important works have been completed or are under construction, their cost being over five hundred million rupees, and the area to be brought by them under irrigation or under improved watering being 11, 226,000 acres. Thus, when the projects at present under construction have been granted, the area under irrigation by important works will be nearly three times what it was in the year 1902-03. Two generations ago, a large part of the North Western Punjab, particularly the Shapur District, was a miniature sahara. The present Lyallpore District was part of an arid waste which stretched over the two neighbouring districts of Jhang and Montgomery. To-day a great part of the Sahahpur District, apart from the Salt Range, is green and prosperous. In the Lyallpore District, there are now a million inhabitants, the vast majority of them being well-to-do cutivators, where, before the coming of the canals, a few half-savage nomads had wandered from before the beginning of history......The Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage project in Sindh, which is the greatest irrigation scheme now under construction, was finally sanctioned by the Secretary of State in 1923.......In March 1925, the Secretary of State sanctioned the Cauveri Reservoir Project in the Madras Presidency, the estimated cost of which amounts to £ 4 millions. By the time the projects now under construction are in full working order, a total of 40 million acres is confidently anticipated. When allowance is made for the more promising projects now being considered and for the natural expansion of existing schemes, an ultimate area of 50 million acres is, by no means, improbable." (India: 1925—26).

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Of all the moral ills that prey upon humanity, perhaps the rankest is ignorance or illiteracy. Illiteracy is to human mind what blindness is to the eye. Under the specious appearance of a human being, a totally illiterate, a stone-ignorant man, that is to say, a man in whom the natural talent is unworked and dead, has not much to tell him from beings that are considered irrational. His soul, lost to its natural beauty, is steeped in darkness ; his mind is a dreary night ; the sun of moral grace refuses to illumine his heart with its invigorating light: nor does worldly science twinkle upon his misty mind. Uncontrolled by superior will, his grovelling animal nature gets the mastery of him through every detail of his life. He has not wherewith to probe into the evil intent and thwart the deceit of his fellow man. He is an easy prey to the mockeries and insolence of his bullies; he is callous to the sting of servitude; he is dead to the aspirations of humanity. The grandeur of morality, the glamour of social and political upheaval, the glory of the struggle for national advancement and independence, the pride of 'patriotism, the inspiration of arts and sciences, the rapture of music and other fine arts, the achievements of ages which fit, as it were, the cultured man with wings to soar into the regions of celestials, all these make no appeal to the illiterate boor; he is merely a plastered clay with a mechanism to mumble and to move about. How precious then is a cultured mind!

Now, coming to the educational reform, we know that the greatest blessing which benign Providence has bestowed upon India through the British rule is education. He never grudged intellect to India. From earliest times, over country was the home of science, literature and philosophy of the highest order. Learning was the mark of her ancient glory. But, as time went on, as a result of countless political revolutions which shook and rent India to her very foundation, it became the monopoly of the priestly class of Brahmans. The Kshatrias, as a warrior class, cared little for learning. The Sudras were the marked thralls of injustice and ignorance. And in later times, owing to misrule and disorder in the country, consequent on incessant wars among princes, Hindu and Mahomedan, the long lived ignorance of the masses spread thick and fast. It is indeed very melancholy to speak of our own miseries; but, in the light of history, truth compels us to admit our ancestral follies. And when India passed into the hands of Islam as supreme power, the state of things in this regard was none the better for the change. Their schools and academies were the resorts of their own kind and converted Hindus. But, under the British rule, which has resolved upon civilising the masses and elevating all people on the strength of education, India, for the first time in her long and checkered history, saw the hand of legislation breaking down all barriers of caste, creed and colour, and throwing open the doors of educational institutions to all classes alike; so that, to day, in public schools, the venerated priestly Brahman and the poor despised out cast sit, side by side, and equally receive the benefit of education. At the outset, they adopted two distinct courses. First they put in new life to the old seats of learning and secondly they founded fresh ones. Thus, in 1782, Warren Hastings the first Governor-General of India, founded the Calcutta Madrassa for Mahomedans. In 1791 Lord Cornwallis instituted a great Sanskrit College at Benares for the Hindus. And close on their heels, other colleges for the study of Oriental lauguages were started at Calcutta, Agra and Delhi. With the steady growth of Education there arose a stir in the country as to the advisability of imparting knowledge to the people of India through the medium of the English language. Opinions were divided. Some were purely in favour of oriental education. But Lord Macaulay, as the exponent of another opinion, rendered his lasting service to India by his stirring appeal in favour of English education. Governmeut was captive to his advocacy; and forthwith commenced their great work in the cause of enlightenment and nation-building. Not only was the hidden treasures of India, but the profound erudition of England, the classic lore of Greece and Rome and all the marvels of science that reveal themselves to the restless mind of the west, were thrown open to the people of India.

English education has done what was hitherto considered an impossible task. It has broken down the barrier of strangeness which the diversity of languages has thrown between races. It has altered their modes of life, and above all, their ideas. It has created in the minds of the people aspirations of a most pregnant character. It has mellowed the fierce distinction which social barbarity has set up between Indian and Indian and sweetened the lives of those who were a prey to the bitter mockeries of caste. It has opened the mind of every educated Indian as to the undoubted position he holds in the Great Empire of India. It has invested him with a conviction, firm as a rock, that he can freely and as high as his ability and integrity can permit, climb the ladder of prosperity, and that when injured by others, no matter how high their birth and their race may be, the indomitable justice of Government would come to his protection.

Education given to the people is of varied character. They may be instructed in literature, science, medicine, law, drawing, and, painting ; in fact, it may be broadly classified as general, scientific, artistic and technical. Education of a general nature is given in primary and secondary schools and in colleges. Higher education is imparted in colleges affiliated to some universities. In 1858, when the Crown assumed the direct Government of India, there were in British territories hardly 2,000 elementary schools with something like 200,000 pupils attending them. At present there are 17 Universities. These were founded in 1857 at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. In 1882 the University of Punjab and in 1887 the University of Allahabad were created. In recent years 12 more were founded ; in 1916-17 at Benares, Mysore, Patna, and Hyderabad ; in 1922-25 at Aligarh, Dacca, Delhi, Lucknow, Rangoon, Nagpur and Agra, and the Andhra University in 1926. In 1925 there were 185 Arts colleges with 62,543 pupils ; 74 professional colleges with 17,286 pupils ; 2,530 High Schools with 714,436 scholars ; 7,519 Middle schools with 829,722 students ; 173,596 primary schools with 7,307,262 children ; 7,723 special schools with 255,162 pupils and 34,602 unrecognised institutions with 610,933 students. The aggregate number of students in all these 228,229 institutions was 9,797,344. The total expenditure on Education for 1924-25 was Rs. 20,87.40,000 : of which 47·9 per cent came from Government ; 13·1 per cent from Board Funds ; 22·4 per cent from fees ; and 16·6 per cent from other sources.

There are national schools of importance with some 610,933 pupils attending them They are classed as 'private' or 'unrecognised' schools. The most prominent of these are the Gurukula near Hardwar, Sir Rabindranath Tagore's School at Bolpur, and Mr. Gandhi's school at Ahmedabad. And there are schools again attached to temples, mosques and Burmese pagodas, where religious instruction occupies a prominent place.

To promote knowledge extensively, various Surveys have been instituted, such as the Topographical, Geological, Botanical, Zoological and Mammal Surveys. And there are Institutions for Research work, covering for its field Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary and other branches of Science. There are 7 Medical Colleges at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Belguchia, Lahore, Delhi and Lucknow ; and an X-ray institution at Dehra Dun. There are also Pastur Institutes for anti-rabic at Kasauli, Coonoor, Shillong and Rangoon ; twenty-two Lunatic Asylums and Leper Asylums in all big cities, maintained both by Government and Christian Missions. In connection with the Leper Institution in India, it must be stated here that in January 1925, at a public meeting held at Delhi, Lord Reading inaugurated the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association which was constituted in 1924 under the Patronage of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales whose object it is to stamp out, by the newest treatment of leprosy, this fell disease throughout the British Empire. Twenty lakhs has been raised so far to carry on the propaganda.

In the welfare of the infants of India, Lady Chemsford initiated the All-India Maternity and Child-Welfare Leagues. It is computed that every year two million babies die. The infantile death-rate in India is abnormally high, being 200 to 600 in every 1,000 children;

while the same in England is about 80 per thousand. The Child-Welfare League has its centres in all big cities, and in the Indian States like Baroda, Ajmere, Jaipur and Kolhapur. Lady Reading has further expanded the work of the Welfare of Indian babies by the institution of the All-India Baby Week. The one great work aimed at in all these institutions is the protection of the life and the promotion of the health of Indian babies, by providing trained nurses and instructions imparted to mothers to take care of their babies.

Of Hospitals and Dispensaries, there were 3,669 at the end of the year 1924. The total number of patients treated in all these was 39,381,032 of which 694,783 were in-patients and 38,686,249 were out-patients. It is useful to know the number of deaths caused annually by various diseases in British India. For example, in 1923-24, it was 293,707 from cholera; 55,380 from small-pox; 361,843 from plague; 4,007,662 from fevers; 230,222 from dysentery and diarrhœa; 333,636 from lung-diseases; and 1,596,836 from all other causes. To these may be added about 20,000 deaths annually from snake-bite.

It is well to speak here a little of the solicitude of Government in behalf of Indian students. Nowhere does the parental character of Government manifest itself so vividly as in education. In no branch of administration is so much care, so much zeal, so much thought, and so much labour expended as in here. Education is undoubtedly the supreme task of the Government, all other interests, great as they are, being subordinate to this Imperial achievement of Britain. Not content with providing so many thousands of institutions and expending annually over twenty crores of rupees in the maintenance of them, the care which they exercise in the moral, physical and intellectual advancement of the student population is worthy of praise. Instances are not rare where, but for the aid of Government, many an intellectual son of India would have perished unknown and in ignorance as "Many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air." The intellectual advancement of students is not the only concern of Government. Their behaviour in and out of school, their health, their safety, their sports and pleasures find ample provisions in the educational code. The unrestrained hand of the old pedagogue is chopped off and a new and a cautious one is supplied to the present day school-master. The rod is removed from his restless hand. And even the heads of lower schools to whom is permitted the use of cane for inflicting corporal punishment for serious offences, must see that it does not overstretch the rule laid down in the code. The children of the poor and those of the degraded classes are not forsaken by Government. They are an asylum to these children of misfortune. Schools like the Panchama schools in Madras are erected and maintained by public funds. The concern of the British Government in this line does not stop here. It pursues the Indian students into distant countries. In the United Kingdom where they are now about 2000 they are particularly looked after in lodgings specially provided for their comfort and safety. By way of sholarships, liberal patronage is extended to such of the students as are prepared to set out of India for the purpose of cultivating special studies in foreign lands. If only these facts are borne in mind, the Indian students will not be so easily pursuaded by the seductions of a well-intentioned but hard-up patriotism which opens for them what are called National schools one day, closes them the next day and disappears leaving them all in the lurch.

POLITICAL PROGRESS.

The happiness of a people consists not alone in the nature of the law of the State that governs them, but also in the way it is administered. Now, one of the most remarkable features of the British Rule in India—the secret of its stability and success, is the intrinsic merit of its law which is justice and its administration. Strict and impartial justice India never experienced either in the Hindu or the Mahomedan rule. It is, out and out, a British creation. England herself was not enjoying this blessing all her lifetime. By the time she took India in her hands, she had already passed through a series of political crises under her tyrannical sovereigns and cast her sterling laws of justice in the mould of martyrdom. And what she got at so much cost she freely gave to India. Doubtless, laws existed in the country; but as it was never subjected to a single authority, and as her races were cut up too far apart by distance and distinctions and prejudices of all kinds, those laws were made differently for different groups of people and were insufficient to cover the whole. Moreover, they had no precise standard of interpretation and there was the fear of their being twisted to suit the caprice of judges. The irregularity and the confusion that followed the application of such incongruous laws upon confounded cases were but too apparent; and there was no remedy. Its sufferance was a nuisance to the ruling authorities and a great hardship upon litigants. And so, in the year 1833 when the East India Company renewed their charter, Parlaiment insisted upon a code of laws being provided for India. In the same year, the first Indian Law Commission was instituted. It comprised the ablest intellects of the day with Lord Macaulay at its head. They had the conduct of ruling dictated by Parliament itself. They had to pay due regard to their religious feelings and the social prejudices and habits of the people. They had to beat down the individual superiority of one man over another, be he European or Indian, by making the law look upon all alike. Accordingly in 1834, Lord Macaulay, on whom fell the brunt of the task, taking the Criminal Law of England as the basis on which to rear the mighty fabric of the Criminal Law of India, began his draft. In 1838 he finished the Indian Penal Code. For twenty-two years, it remained but a draft, subject to revisions. In 1860, when Parliament approved of it, it became law and embraced all British territories under its jurisdiction. The following year, the Criminal Law was completed by the enactment of Criminal Procedure. Speaking of the Criminal Law of India, Sir Henry Maine says, "British India is now in possession of a set of codes which approach the highest standard of excellence which this species of legislation has reached. In form, intelligibility, and in comprehensiveness, the Indian Codes stand against all competition." And in the words of Sir James Stephen, "The Indian Penal Code may be described as the

Criminal Law of England freed from all technicalities and superfluities, systematically arranged and modified in some few particulars (they are surprisingly few) to suit the circumstances of India. It is parctically impossible to misunderstand the Code....It is by far the best system of Criminal Law in the world". It has from time to time been amended. The Code of Civil Procedure was remodelled in 1908, and the Code of Criminal Procedure in 1898. These Codes are now in force.

It must, however, be stated here that, to designate the ruling class, an exception has been taken in their favour in criminal cases, not in the application of the law, but in the sort of tribunal to try such cases. The famous Ilbert Bill of 1883 announced the decision of the Government of India to completely and once for all remove from the Code all distinctions of race, European or Indian. This provoked an unprecedented storm of protest from the British and an equally vehement counterblast from the Indians. A compromise was effected by the Act of 1884, which laid down that European British subjects in India could be tried by Indians exercising European Judicial and Magisterial powers, and by a jury, one half of whom must he European. Again in September 1921, a motion was adopted in the Legislative Assembly " that in order to remove all racial distinctions between Indians and Europeans in the matter of trial and punishment of offences, a Committee be appointed to consider what amendments should be made in the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, which differentiate between Indian and European British subjects in criminal trials and proceedings and to report on the best methods of giving effect to their proposals". As a result of the recommendations of the Racial Distinctions Committee, the law was further amended and racial distinctions were still more reduced.

The most consoling aspect noticeable in this all important branch of administration is the maintenance of equality of people in the eye of law. At the very outset, it was emphatically put down that individual superiority where the law was concerned, must be ignored. It is a rigid principle of British law that all subjects, no matter what their caste, religion or nationality may be, are on a footing of-perfect equality. The Rajput, the Mahratta, the Bengalee, the Tamil, the Punjabi, the city gentleman, the European and the clumsy rustic, all are placed on a common platform and are swayed by the supremacy of impartial justice. Whoever heard of such a thing before? During the thirty centuries of Hindu Rule, the law of the land was a combination of the deification of the ruling class and the unspeakable degradation of the subject people, especially the lower orders. The Mahomedan Law had no nobler aspect. One of its most harrowing vagaries was that it forbade "infidels", that is, non-Mahomedans, to give evidence in a case touching a Mahomedan. The havoc it played upon the subject people must have been incalculable. It is difficult to find a great nation that could boast of having countenanced such an equality of both the ruling and the ruled. Verily this is an unprecedented administrative feat of Britain of which she can feel justly proud.

That all people may know that the Government is just, and, in that knowledge, have confidence in the integrity of the British Law, justice is openly administered. They are fair and zealous in the cause of justice and they do not cushion their law and its administration under judicial lodge ; and hence the open-door dealing. Persons of every rank and sex are allowed the liberty of witnessing in person the proceedings of a court. These proceedings have the free license of being published in newspapers, so that all may have a precise knowledge of the proceedings of law in courts. Unrestricted publicity of this sort not only allays the old suspicions of the people, not only does it engender confidence in their hearts, but it arouses the judicial officer to that sense of dignity that attaches to his position.

The judge examines the cases before him. His caprice, his private opinion, nay his personal accomplishments must silently give way to the definite provisions of the law, by which alone he must be guided in dealing with those cases. His individuality recedes before the majesty of the law. He has no option to settle cases without hearing both parties. He must take their evidence given in person or through their advocates. In criminal cases, it is strictly demanded by law that evidence should be given in person and not by proxy. And thus a fair chance is given to the accused to fight out and establish their case in public. If a person has reason to think that he was wrongfully convicted by a judge, he has the privilege to appeal to a higher court for redress. A rung of such appeals is open to him to prove his case, the highest tribunal being that of the King-Emperor himself assisted by His Majesty's Privy Council. In cases of a very criminal nature, the judge summons to his aid a set of laymen capable of examining the case before him. These men form, what is called, the jury. They were created by the Criminal Law of 1861. Since then, the genius of the British rule has brought into play the admirable combination of the technical capability of professionals with the practical wisdom of the laity. Herein the prisoner is given the double advantage of having his case sifted not only by the strict provisions of law, but, by the calm reflection and prudence of men who have to pronounce their opinion on the case under the awful binding of an oath.

Political progress manifests itself in another form. It is Municipality or Self-Government. This is not quite a new thing to the people of India. No country on earth, except China, could boast of a culture and civilisation, social and political institutions that have lasted in an unbroken continuity through an age of 3,000 years as India. One of such institutions is Municipality. We read about it of an elaborate form as early as the age of Chandragupta. But this ancient system, which must have been rudely tossed by countless revolutions that altered the destiny of India in myriad ways through her long and martyred life, managed to survive them all and linger in villages. It had lost its urban glamour and import and was eking its inglorious, decrepit life among rural folks. And even in its simplicity and insignificant existence it was being choked to extinction by the state of anarchy and chaos that prevailed in the country prior to the British rule. It was during the present rule that it began to resusciate from the depths of its degradation. In its purely Indian simplicity, the Municipality in villages was a body of elders, a sort of rural oligarchy which was not an elected assembly, but formed solely from considerations of caste superiority of prominent families of the village into an administrative body. Its functions do not seem to have gone beyond the settlement of local disputes of both civil and criminal nature and the collection of petty rents due to the reigning powers. This diminutive rural structure, under the broad, progressive principles of the British rule began to grow in size and importance. How ?

As time went on, the authority of the British Government assumed greater dimensions and in keeping with its growing proportions its beneficent character was being appreciated. And so, an experiment, a very welcome experiment, was made on the governing tactics of the people. Lord Mayo boldly initiated it in 1870. The people were empowered to raise taxes in their respective towns and expend them through the elected members of their own community, upon the constructions and maintenance of public roads, hospitals, markets and works of sanitation. In the beginning, it was thought expedient to place it under official control. But the people proving equal to the task, the control of Government was gradually receding to make room for greater independence of the people. And this recession on the part of the Government was steadily going on till the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon who, in the year 1884, by a master-stroke of policy, placed it on a strong and ever-widening basis and made it also an instrument in the hands of the people to carve out their political destiny.

Self-Government goes under different names. When the management of peoples' civil affairs is confined to cities and towns, it is called a Municipality or Corporation. Its elected members are styled Municipal Commissioners. When it ranges out of town and covers for its field of work roads, canals, dispensaries and so on, it is known as District Board; and, when it goes further down to rural parts, as Local Board or Union Committee; and further still, as Punchayat. Thus, it will be seen that in India, not only are the people of a city, but those of a district and sub-district too have power to collect taxes among themselves and control the expenditure of such taxes. The political importance of Self-Government is equally manifest in their power to levy taxes and in the process of election. Candidates who aspire to seats on the Municipal Council or District Board Committee must exercise a good deal of pluck upon their constituents to canvas votes in their favour; and the people in turn, come to learn the polity of Government. It is an admirable feature of the British rule to create an aspiration in the people and then magnanimously push back before its advance. No wonder, that, in 1892 Government enhanced the principle of election so that, members from Municipalities and District Boards, as well as those of influential corporations, such as the Senate and the Chamber of Commerce, were admitted to seats on the Legislative Council. A further advance was held out by the Morley-Minto Scheme of 1907. But the most remarkable effort of Government, so far, to rouse the people to greater activity and life in the direction of Self-Government is vouched by the present Constitution, the Montagu-Chemsford Reform (treated later) which has not only extended widely its franchise on democratic basis and its powers of administration over important fields, but has charged it with such potentialities that, under a wise and enthusiastic management and intelligent popular control, this Local Government is virtually a great school for the training of faculties indispensable for the rearing of a political structure which should be a replica of the mighty Swaraj in process of construction. At the present time the number of Municipalities in British India is 757, embracing within its jurisdiction a population of 18,000,000. In these Municipalities, the elected members preponderate, while the officials are in a minority. They are as 7 to 1. Their total income for the yeal 1924 was 14·03 crores. The Municipal area does not cover more than a tenth of the British territories. In the remaining parts which are rural, there are 221 District Boards, 556 Sub-District Boards and 800 Union Committees. The Boards are constituted mainly by Indian members. The annual income for the year 1924-25 in all these Boards and Unions was 11·32 crores. The muniature Municipality is seen in villages, where it becomes an assembly of 5 elders, called the "Panchayat or Village autonomy". It is one of the most ancient institutions not only of India but of the whole world. It is being revived on a large scale. The Panchayats deal with local disputes and sanitation, and are about 6,000 in number, with a population of 6½ millions under their domain.

Next comes what may be considered quite a precious boon to India, the Press and the Platform. To pronounce an opinion on the dealings of Government with their subjects was not dreamt of by people either in the Hindu or the Mahomedan Suzerainty. The degrading law of the one and the terrific domination of the other were more than a gag to the people in their deep subjection. To keep their lives and property in tolerable safety from the rapacity of provincial governors and from universal lawlessness and to mind their own business were the most they were entitled to. But Britain would not deny intellectual India what forms the inspiration of her political glory. And hence we have the liberty of expressing our opinion on the doings of Government, to criticise their official acts and fearlessly give vent to our feelings for redress where such redress is due. As early as the 18th century, there were newspaper printed in English; but only in 1818 a Vernacular paper first appeared in Bengal. The press is a ticklish subject. There is always the human weakness ready to trespass on undesirable grounds. And there is also the hand of Government striking a note of warning not to go beyond the limits of prudence. And by the application of old Acts and, when absolutely necessary, by the creation of new ones called the Emergency Acts, it checks sedition and disorder and retains peace in the country. The Indian press was for some time passing through restrictions; and, in 1835, it found its champion in Lord Macaulay. Imbued with a lofty purpose, he pleaded for the abolition of restrictions on the press; and consequently it was declared free. But what means the freedom of the Press! Does it mean that a newspaper can print articles calculated to foster ill-feeling amongst a peaceful people. publish mis-statements against ruling authorities with the object of throwing a cloak of malice upon the best intentions of Government expose the private conduct of officials, poison the minds of the rising generation with sedition administered in an eloquent cup of false and deceptive patriotism, and, in fine, converting itself into a fortress of defiance to Government and disturbance to the country ? Surely this is not liberty; it is a gross violation of liberty abused into license which no sensible Government can tolerate. Liberty, I take, consists in the free exercise of man's gifts in all things which are morally and intrinsically legitimate. Freedom of the Press, therefore, consists in advocating the rights of the people, in giving publicity to their true grievances, in criticising the actions of Government, however strongly, yet in a language and dignity becoming either side and with motives of disinterestedness, in disseminating ideas of progress and civilisation, in fearlessly advancing the national cause on practical and rational lines and in serving humanity by unflinchingly vindicating the eternal law of truth and justice.

What holds for the Press holds, with far greater force for the Platform. The tongue is sharper than the pen. The eloquence of speech has been at all times a most powerful means of inflaming the feelings of men for good or bad. The collective achievements of speech in the moulding of empires and destinies of nations are, one should think, greater than those of the sword. In a country like ours which represents every condition of intellect, the responsibility of both Government and the leaders of Indian thoughts and movements is immeasurably great. To hold public meetings for the purpose of ventilating the people's grievances and letting the rulers know their wants and wishes and to rouse the country to march on and on in her social, moral and political advancement is a priceless gift. The tongue of the Indian politician that has lain, since the dawn of Indian history in the chamber of silence, is now let loose in the riotous liberty of speech. Intellectual India has proved that it can compare with any part of the English speaking world in the maintenance of the supremacy of eloquence in the English language. And no nation under the sun, Ireland excepted because she was denied the use of her own, has sought the services of this language for its social, moral, material and political advancement so effectively, so incessantly and so indispensably as we Indians.

As a net result of these momentous reforms we find the India of to-day completely transformed from the India of a century back. The British Rule is human after all. It has its defects and weaknesses vigilantly pointed and fought out from the platform and in the press. But, nevertheless, it is undeinable that its mighty achievements in administration which, in the diversity and immensity of her races, languages and religions, is the most ponderous, the most complex and the most difficult in the world, have pulled up the old India from the lethargy and chaos of her tottering past and put her on her firm feet so as to be able to run her course in the great race of human progress and civilisation. And, by far, the boldest step Britain has taken since her rule to advance India's aspirations to her full political rights and freedom is the endowment of the present Constitution, the Montagu-Chemsford Reform. It received the Royal assent in December, 1919. Its preamble runs as follows :

PREAMBLE.

"Whereas it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in British India as an integral part of the Empire :

And whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken :

And whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples :

And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility :

And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India, it is expedient to give those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities".

The following extracts from the Government of India Act, 1919, will prove of interest to general readers :—

THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

"63. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Indian ligislature shall consist of the Governor-General and two chambers, namely the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Except as otherwise provided by or under this Act, a Bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by the Indian legislature unless it has been agreed to by both chambers, either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both chambers.

63-A. (1) The Council of State shall consist of not more than sixty members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under this Act, of whom not more than twenty shall be official members.

63-B. (1) The Legislative Assembly shall consist of members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under this Act.

(2) The total number of members of the Ligislative Assembly shall be one hundred and forty. The number of non-elected members shall be forty, of whom twenty-six shall be official members. The number of elected members shall be one hundred.

Provided that rules made under this Act may provide for increasing the number of members of the Legislative Assembly as fixed by this section and may vary the proportion which the classes of members bear one to another, so, however, that at least five-sevenths of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected members, and at least one-third of the other members shall be non-official members.

63-D. (1) Every Council of State shall continue for five years, and every Ligislative Assembly for 3 years from its first meeting: Provided that (*a*) either Chamber of the Legislative may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General; and (*b*) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if, in special circumstances, he so thinks fit; and (*c*) after the dissolution of either chamber, the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months; or with the sanction of the Secretary of State not more than nine months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.

68. (1) When a Bill has been passed by both chambers of the Indian Legislature the Governor-General may declare that he assents to the Bill, or that he withholds his assent to the Bill, or that he reserves the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon.

(2) A Bill passed by both Chambers of the Indian Legislature shall not become an Act until the Governor-General has declared his assent thereto, or, in the case of a Bill reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure until His Majesty in Council has signified his assent and that assent has been notified by the Governor-General.

LOCAL LEGISLATURES.

72-A. (1) There shall be a Legislative Council in every Governor's Province which shall consist of the members of the Executive Council and of members nominated or elected as provided by this Act.

(2) The number of members of the Governor's Legislative Councils shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this Act (Madras 118;

Bombay 111 ; United Provinces... ; Bengal 125 ; Punjab 83 ; Bihar and Orissa 98 ; Central Provinces 70 ; Assam 53* and of the members of each Council not more than twenty per cent shall be official members, and at least seventy per cent shall be elected members : Provided that (*a*) subject to the maintenance of the above proportions, rules under this Act may provide for increasing the number of members of any Council, as specified in that Schedule ;

72-B. Every Governor's Legislative Council shall continue for three years from its first meeting : Provided that (*a*) the Council may be sooner dissolved by the Governor ; and (*b*) the said period may be extended by the Governor for a period not exceeding one year by notification in the Official Gazette of the Province, if in special circumstances (to be specified in the notification) he so thinks fit and (*c*) after the dissolution of the Council the Governor shall appoint a date not more than six months, or with the sanction of the Secretary of State, not more than nine months from the date of dissolution for the next session of the Council.

THE STATUTORY COMMISSION.

84-A. (1) At the expiration of ten years after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, the Secretary of State with the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament shall submit for the approval of His Majesty the names of persons to act as a Commission for the purpose of this section.

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*Burma which was constituted a Governor's province has 204.

(2) The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India and matters connected therewith, and the Commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government, or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government, then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislature is or is not desirable.

(3) The Commission shall also inquire into and report on any other matter affecting British India and the provinces which may be referred to the Commission by His Majesty."

The Chief Central subjects are :—

Defence of India, Relations with states in India, political charges, railways, aircraft, inland waterways, shipping and navigation, posts, telegraphs, and telephones, customs, cotton excise duties, income-tax, salt and other sources of all ; India revenues, currency and coinage, savings-bank, Puplic debt of India, Commerce, Law, police, survey, Ecclesiastic administration, census and statistics, All-India services and the Public service Commission :

The Chief Provincial subjects are :—

Reserved :—Water-supply, irrigation and canals ; land revenue administration ; famine-relief ; land acquisition ; administration of justice ; provincial law reports ;

Administrator-General and official trustees; industrial matters; police; control of newspaper; criminal tribes; prisons and prisoners (except state-prisoners) and reformatories; provincial government presses; election of Indian and Provincial legislatures; sources of Provincial revenue; imposition by legislation of punishment, and matters pertaining to a central subject.

Transferred :—Local self-government; medical administration; public health and sanitation; education other than European education and universities which is reserved; public works including (*a*) construction and maintenance of provincial buildings connected with the administration of the Province; (*b*) roads, bridges, ferries, tunnels, and other means of communication and (*c*) tramways; agriculture, veterinary civil departments, fisheries; co-operative societies; forests; excise, registration of deeds and documents; registration of births and deaths and marriages; religious and charitable endowments; development of industries; libraries.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

Since the year 1833, the political development of India under the British Rule carried with it the stamp of remarkability. From a mere perfunctory office of preserving law and order in a quasi-oriental fashion it has now brought within its practical range the proudest displays of western democracy. The introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms forms the great landmark in the history of India of her momentous advancement towards the realisation of self-autonomy.

Decentralisation, that is to say, the devolution of powers so long centred in the Supreme Government to Provincial Goverments has been effected as completely as inconsistent which India's capacity to rule with every encouragement for the extension of that capacity through steady, experimental and acquistional stages. For administrative convenience the subjects of administration have since 1921, been divided into central and provincial; and the latter are further classified as " reserved " and " transferred subjects ". On the introduction of Reforms at the inauguration of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cannaught on February 9th, 1921, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy, said, " The power which had led to the introduction of these reforms continued to gain in intensity and volume; the demand of educated Indians for a larger share in the Government of their country grew year by year more insistent, and this demand could find no adequate satisfaction within the frame work of Morley-Minto Constitution. This constitution gave Indians much wider opportunities for the expression of their views and greatly increased their power of influencing the policy of Government and its administration of public business. But the element of responsibility was entirely lacking. The ultimate decision rested in all cases with Government and the Councils were left with no functions save that of criticism. The principle of autocracy, though much qualified, was still maintained and the attempt to blend it with the constitutionalism of the West could but postpone for a short period the need for reconstruction on more radical lines. Such then was the position with which my Government were confronted in the year 1916-17. The conclusion at which we arrived was that British policy must seek a new point of departure, a fresh orientation. On the lines of Morley-Minto Reforms, there could be no further advance. That particular line development it had been carried to the fullest limit of which it admitted, and the only further change of which the system was susceptible would have made the Legislative and Administrative acts of an irremovable Excutive entirely amenable to selected Councils and would have resulted in a disastrous deadlock. The Executive would have remained responsible for the Government of the country, but would have lacked the power to secure the measures necessary for the discharge of that responsibility. The solution which finally commended itself to us is embodied in principle in the declaration which His Majesty's Government in full agreement with us made in August 1917.

"By that declaration, the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government was declared to be the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's Government was to be directed. The increasing association of the people of India with the work of Government had always been the aim of the British Government. In that sense a continuous thread of connection links together the Act of 1861 and the declaration of August 1927. In the last analysis the latter is only the most recent and most memorable manifestation of a tendency that has been operative throughout the British Rule. But they are changes of degree so great as to be changes of kind, and this is one of them. For the first time the principle of autocracy which had not been wholly discarded in all earlier reforms was definitely abandoned. The conception of the British Government as a benevolent despotism was finally renounced ; and in its place was substituted that of a guiding authority whose role it would be to assist the steps of India along the road that, in the fullness of time, would lead to complete self-government within the Empire. In the interval required for the accomplishment of this task, certain powers of supervision and, if need be, of intervention, would be retained, and substantial steps towards redeeming the pledges of the Government were to be taken at the earliest moment possible."

Thus we see that in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, India has, for the first time in her political history, witnessed the introduction of popular control into the administration. Uptill the Reform, India was governed mainly by the British bureaucracy which was responsible through the Secretary of State for India to British people. But now the administration, meant to be mainly Indian, is made responsible to the Indian people. And how is this done ? Now, the Indian Parliament is made up of the Governor General's Executive Council, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. This corresponds to the British Parliament with its Cabinet, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. And as the House of Commons is an assembly of members elected by the people, so is the Indian Legislative Assembly mainly composed of members elected by the people. Again, the provincial Government is made up of two bodies, namely, the Executive and the Legislative. The Legislative is formed of members most of whom are elected by the people.

The Executive is divided into two haves : the first half is composed of members chosen by the Crown and they administer the Reserved subjects ; while the second half is formed of Ministers chosen by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislative body. If they are not in the Legislature already, they should enter it within six months of their appointment as Ministers. They administer the " transferred subjects." The Governor presides over each half. Such an Executive is known as the "dyarchy." Having thus charged India with a powerful momentum, Britain has put her on the mark time.

QUO VADIS.

In the Lords, the Bill was introduced by Lord Sinha. "This Bill", he said, "will not and is not intended to set up a final and permanent constitution for India. It provides for a period of transition. How long that period will last I make no effort to forecast; but, while it lasts, we have to provide a bridge whereby India may pass from an autocratic and bureaucratic form of government which guides her destinies *ab extra* to a form of government by which she will control her own destinies." And this transition of India, according to Sir Verney Lovett, a well-known authority on Indian affairs, means, "the intellectual effort of Indians to understand and assimilate to itself the highly developed moral and political thoughts and movements of the West. Parliament," he continues, "has launched India's hundreds of millions on a parliamentary system. A successful parliamentary system is conditional on a great educational and industrial advance." This statement is, of course, the quintessence of a political dictum. So, this Reform is set up as a bridge to span the gulf that exists between the autocratic and bureaucratic government and a democratic government that holds forth its luring attractions in a distant vision. Although this scheme has been in operation for the past seven years, still, considering the stupendous magnitude of the population and the scope of the work it comprehends, it would seem as though it were still on the start. I would, therefore, taking my own place among the mass millions, venture to diagnose as much as I can the intellectual, economic, social and political condition of India at the present time and sound how far she has and is likely to be benefited by this panacea of a great Reform.

According to the last census, of a population of 319 millions, the number of persons recorded as "literate", that is, "able to read a letter and write a reply to it", is 22·5 millions. This gives males at the age of 5 and above as 139, and females as 21 per thousand. Surely there are some millions more who are able to read and write to less than the required standard. The rest are lost in an intellectual chaos. In the whole of India again, 2·5 millions, that is, 160 males and 18 females in every ten thousand can read and write English. But, since 1921 when the census was taken, the number of the literate in English and the vernaculars must have considerably increased.

Educational progress since the Reform is shown by the following statement taken from the Indian Year Book, 1927:

In 1919-20.

(*a*) Number of Arts Colleges for males was 138 with 51,458 pupils.

,, High Schools for males was 1,910 with 597,969 pupils.

,, Primary Schools for males was 133,585 with 4,956,988 pupils.

Percentage of male scholars in Public Institutions to male population was 5·1.

(*b*) Number of Arts Colleges for females was 12 with 1,024 pupils.

" High Schools for females was 203 with 34,063 pupils.

" Primary Schools for females was 21,750 with 1,176,533 pupils.

Percentage of female scholars in Public Institutions to female population was 1·1.

(*c*) Total scholars, male and female, in all Public Institutions were 7,612,839, and in all Institutions 8,206,225.

(*d*) The total expenditure on Education was Rs. 14,88,97,000.

In 1924-25.

(*a*) Number of Arts Colleges for males was 169 with 63,189 pupils.

" High Schools for males was 2,294 with 664,593 pupils.

" Primary Schools for males was 150,919 with 5,983,260 pupils.

Percentage of male scholars in Public Institutions to male population was 6·05.

(*b*) Number of Arts Colleges for females was 16 with 1,807 pupils.

" High Schools for females was 236 with 47,390 pupils.

" Primary Schools for females was 24,677 with 1,324,002 pupils.

Percentage of female scholars in public schools to female population was 1·24.

(c) Total scholars, male and female, in all Public Institutions were 9,186,411 and in all Institutions, 9,797,344.

(*d*) The total expenditure on Education was Rs. 20,87,48,000.

The creation of 9 fresh Universities and the inter-University Board, the introduction of compulsory education in 8 provinces as seen previously, the beginning of the admission of the depressed classes into Hindu schools and colleges, notably in Madras, and the activity of self-government in their administration of education to the masses as exemplified by the enthusiastic Presidency of Bombay are, in brief, palpable evidences of the progress of education since the Reform.

The progress in this line, so appreciable and encouraging, still bears a feeble proportion to the magnitude of the population. It is wide, very wide of the mark. A society consigned to this intellectual state, to rise in the attainment of education to the height of an intelligent political democracy, is not an easy job. Nevertheless, if we consider with what enthusiasm it has been marching on in recent years, there is very reason to hope that, under a clear sky, India is bound to shine forth at no distant date, in the radiant beauty of a wide-spread culture.

The economy of Providence, in this all-important matter of India's culture and enlightenment under the British rule seems to be, first, the education of the privileged few as it stands now, and through them, by the operation of the present Constitution, the education of the masses which can be more easily and efficiently tackled by the sons of the soil on whose shoulders now lie this grave and mighty responsibility.

Coming to the economic side, we find that the occupational statistics in 1921. show that 72·9 per cent take to agriculture and pasture ; 10·49 to industry ; 5·73 to trade ; 1·37 to transport ; 1·59 to learned professions ; 1·53 to government service and 1·45 to demestic service. Thus agriculture being the main occupation, industry enters very small indeed into the enonomic life of India. In India, there are 2,316 towns with a population of 32,475,276 and 685,665 villages with 286,467,204 people in them. Most of the people live in rural parts which comprise nine-tenths of the whole country, and they have not given up their primitive methods of manufacture. They cannot get out of village antiquity. "Isolation was the rampart behind which the old time village had entrenched itself." They are total strangers to modern ideas and improvements of industry. In fact, they are averse to innovations, however progressive and profitable. Social bindings, national temperament and intellectual backwardness have immovably fixed them to ante-deluvian ideas and habits. The larger concerns of the country are run by British Capitalists while the Indian millionaires, either for want of mutual trust or a spirit of enterprise to embark on extensive businesses, keep their unproductive hoards under-ground or in safes. The day that the primitive craft, stimulated by instinct of education and progress, throws away his hoary tools behind him and plies his trade on the most modern improvements of the West, India builds her hope of a great industrial future. And till that golden period arrives, she must, in the world's commerical warfare, meet machine guns and aeroplanes with bows and arrows. This remark applies to the cottage industry of India ; but the mill industry which obtains in cities and populous towns has a different aspect which a reference to 'India' in 1921-22 and the Indian year Book 1927 on the subject discloses succinctly.

"The General dependence of Indian trade upon the prosperity of Indian industries needs no lengthy demonstration. The war-period gave a considerable shock to those who were anxious for the industrial progress of the country, since the notable report of the Indian Industrial Commission showed that India was unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilised activities. Rich as she is in raw material, India is still very poor in industrial achievements and in several branches of industry. She has to buy back manufactured articles towards which she has already contributed raw materials. The difficulty has hitherto been that, without active support on the part of the administration, few Indian industries, except those based upon natural monopoly, could hope to make headway against the organised competition of western countries. The English tendency to allow matters to follow their natural economic course accordingly prevailed until war experience served to change prevalent notions as to the function of the State in relation to industries. In justice to the Indian administration it must be remarked that sometime prior to the war, certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies industries were effectually discouraged from Whitehall. Fortunately for India, the history of the war-period has effectively demonstrated the necessity of Government playing an active part in the industrial development of India. As was mentioned in preceding reports, the labours of the Industrial Commission led to the formulation of proposals for the organisation of a Central Department of Industries. In February 1921, the Secretary of State sanctioned the creation of such a Department as a permanent branch of the Government of India. This Department deals with industries including industrial intelligence with industrial exhibition and with central institutions for industrial training. It is also concerned with geology and minerals including the geological survey of India and the administration of the Indian Mines Act. It further administers the Indian Explosives Act, the Indian Petroleum Act, the Indian Factories Act including labour legislation, Patent and Designs, Copyright, Electrical Legislation, legislation relating to steam-boilers, stores, stationery and printing, inter-provincial migration and salt."

"Various causes have combined to give added importance to the great group of human activities concentrated under the generic term of Labour. India is still a predominently agricultural country and more than seventy per cent of its people are dependent on the soil for their livelihood. Nevertheless a process of industrialisation has gone steadily forward. Calcutta and Bombay are great manufacturing cities. Whilst the jute mills dominate Calcutta and the cotton mills Bombay, there has grown up round these industries a substantial body of other manufactories. Another considerable manufacturing centre has developed at Cawnpore with cotton, wool and leather factories. The textile industry of Bombay has overflowed into the mofussil, and Ahmedabad and Sholapur are considerable centres of manufacture; with a lesser one at Broach. In the Central Provinces the cotton mills of Nagpur are famous throughout India. The Province of Bihar and Orissa is the centre of the great coal mining trade, having absorbed the bulk of the coal mines formerly included in the Province of Bengal. It also embraces the most remarkable example of scientific industrialism in India in the works of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur wherein what was jungle fifteen years ago a considerable city is springing up which will produce over a million tons of steel a year, and house subsidiary industries which, combined with the iron and steel works, will probably maintain a city of a quarter of a million in the near future. The Railway works of the North-Western Railway form the core of the industrialism of the Punjab, where other manufactories, notably of cement, are developing. The industrial expansion in India may be judged from the number of factories coming under the operation of the Indian Factories Act of 1911 as amended by the Act of 1922, which amounted to 6,406 for the whole of British India during the year 1924. The avarage daily number of persons employed amounted to nearly a million and a-half and rose from 1,409,173 in 1923 to 1,455,592 in 1924."

As regards Industrial safety and inspection, the book says: " The conditions of factory labour until 1913 were regulated by the Indian Factories Act of 1881, as amended in 1891. The chief provisions of the amended Act were Local Governments were empowered to appoint inspectors of factories and certifying surgeons to certify as to the age of children. A mid-day stoppage of work was presented in all factories, except those worked on an approved system of shifts, and Sunday labour was prohibited, subject to certain exceptions. The hours of employment for women were limited to 11, with intervals of rest amounting to at least an hour and a half; their employment between 8 P. M. and 5 A. M. was prohibited as a general rule except in factories worked by shifts. The hours of work for children (defined as persons below the age of 14) were limited to seven, and their employment at night time was forbidden; children below the age of nine were not to be employed.

The Amending Acts of 1922 and 1923:—The acceptance by India of her obligations under the International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919, necessitated radical revision of the Indian factories Act of 1911. This was undertaken during the year 1921 (II of 1922) introduced a series of important reforms including the adoption of a sixty hours' week, the raising of the minimum age of children from 9 to 12, the prohibition of night work for women, the extension of the Act to a large number of small factories, drastic restriction of the exempting provisions, etc. The Act was further amended in 1923.

THE PRESENT LAW.

Hours of Employment:—In every factory there shall be fixed, (*a*) for each person employed on each working day (i) at intervals not exceeding six hours, periods of rest of not less than one hour, (ii) at the request of the employees concerned, periods of rest at intervals not exceeding five hours, of not less than half an hour each, the total duration of the periods of rest on that day not being less than one hour for each period of six hours' work done; (*b*) for each child working more than five and a half hours in any day, a period of rest of not less than half an hour.

Weekly holiday:—No person shall be employed in any factory on a Sunday, unless (*a*) he has had or will have a holiday for a whole day on one of the three days immediately preceding or succeeding the Sunday.

Employment of children:—(*a*) No child shall be employed in any factory before half past five O'clock in the morning, or after seven O'clock in the evening. (*b*) No child shall be employed in any one factory for more than six hours in any one day.

Employment of women:—(*a*) No woman shall be employed in any factory before half past five O'clock in the morning or after seven O'clock in the evening. (*b*) No woman shall be employed in any factory for more than eleven hours in any one day.

No person shall employ or permit to be employed in any factory any child or, save in such circumstances as may be prescribed, any other person whom he knows or has reason to believe to have already been employed on the same day in any other factory."

The social phase is of a very melancholy character. In no country on the face of the earth is a people cut up into such tiny myriads as in India. There are four fundamental castes, the Brahman, the Kshatrya, the Vaisya and the Sudra. There is another lot put away as outcast. A caste may be taken to mean a social wall thrust between races, or groups of families following a distinct trade or profession. They neither scale nor cross the wall. Thus there are the castes of carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, bricklayers, weavers, tinkers, barbers, toddy-brewers, oil-mongers, washermen and others innumerable in the train. These neither inter-marry nor eat together. The caste with its rigid rules and observances indefinitely rivets a man to his trade, which has therefore become ancestral. He cannot change it for a vocation, for which nature may have endowed him with a special talent. Thus, a potter has been a potter for two thousand years and the blacksmith has stood by his anvil since Asoka's time. Such an unyielding system has a most withering effect upon the intellectual and economic life of a nation. Over 22 millions out of 319 millions come under the stern domination of caste. There are more than 3,000 main branches, and these, in their turn, ramify almost into infinity. That means, there are in very truth 3,000 alien races having a common geographical designation and living on the same soil, but isolated and antipathic. And whence is this caste?

It is difficult to find in the history of man a personality that has swayed the destinies of his fellow-creatures with such imperiousness and audacious tenacity asserted through long centuries as the Brahman of India. The inheritor of an intelligence which has streamed down in a gushing glory through an age of thirty centuries, he claims his creation from the mouth of the Creator, and has ever since maintained his position as poet, philosopher, physician, sage and priest. When, in process of time, he found himself in possession of a vast political power, he created for himself the highest pinnacle of glory and from that giddy eminence, received honour and worship that verged on the Divine: The persecutor and the conqueror of Buddhism, he became the idol, the hero, and the god of Hinduism and made the "light of Asia" a satelite of his own. With awe and reverence, kings and emperors sought his ministry and his advice. He was mighty before Alexander the Great crossed the Jhelum and Asoka ruled his unwieldy Empire. To consolidate, for all coming times, his position and his power as a priest-ruler he forged a social law by which he cut up the huge Hindu society into countless fragments of a most unsympathetic character and flung millions into servitude, and there holding them under a mysterious dread of religion, ruled them with a severity that tells its living tale up till this day. And when the persecuting Crescent rose up on India, pulled him down from his proud eminence and hunted him from place to place, he feared not from his concealments among the ruins of dilapidated shrines and temples to hurl his imprecations upon the guilty heads of tyrants. And now that, under the present rule of tolerance and safety, he has emerged from the dismal haunts of the past, there is not a field of activity or enterprise where he is not the leading spirit. No adversity however trying, no humiliation however bitter, could thwart his aim and his ambition in life. Quick as lightning, subtle as a serpent, he climbs his unerring path to material prosperity. Seizing everywhere the highest of places, he surrounds himself with a wall of adamant. If straight wit and fair play failed him, he would still employ his art before which the fox is a fool. A mendicant by profession, he is yet the ruler of states. Storms of might and fury have swept over political India for twenty-five centuries and washed away empires, races, tongues and creeds ; but the Brahman, with his Brahmanism and his inborn gifts, has survived them all and holds his own.

As a counter-blast of Brahiminic glory is another condition of humanity stretched before his eyes in the slime of the earth, the imperishable monument of his sovereignty and rule,—the 60 million outcasts of India. These are the surviving victims of a past which, with the impress of its withering hand still upon them as they eke out their intolerable existence in their mean, ragged, squalid hovels thrown upon the outskirts of the 700,000 villages of the country, set apart like loathsome lepers, away from the habitations of higher castes, amidst surroundings as dismal as death, ignorant, illiterate, helpless, poverty-stricken, wallowing in the mire of human miseries, whose look is a crime, whose approach is pollution and whose very existence is an exercation, abandoned to a fate from which it is hopeless to extricate themselves, recalls to mind the untold acts of injustice inflicted upon their ancestors whose amputated limbs and broken bones and lacerated flesh and whose very insulted ashes seem to cry out from the mouldering earth to some power that be to come to the rescue and redeem their progenies who, like themselves have been lying for over 2,000 years in an abyss of humiliation. And if that power, oh Heavens! be not Britain, what else can it be?

The outcasts are practically in a state of social servitude. They are untouchable lot. They are driven away from the realm of man like wild beasts. It is a cruel irony that, while asses and buffaloes, horses and dogs, can be accommodated in the houses of caste people, these children of men should fly away and pitch their huts on the outer borders of villages. If they happen to meet any of the superior caste on the road, they must get by the edgeways to a respectful distance and walk along. They are not permitted to go through the streets inhabited by high castes and there are places again, as in Malabar, where they must not be *seen* even by high-castes. The barber will not shave them, neither will the washerman touch their clothes. They cannot draw water from public wells, and herein is perpetrated an injustice unheard of in the world. They, who are God's creatures and British subjects, are denied in deliberate violation of the common law of humanity the indispensable necessity of life. Sitting for hours, away from the wells, scorched to death under a mericless sun, these poor people, heirs of ignominy and victims of iniquity and yet citizens of the British Empire (Socialists of England and Champions of Self-Government for India, hear me for my cause), keep on looking with begging eyes and gaping mouths to some charitably disposed souls drawing water, who might condescend to go near them, and standing as far apart as the holy observance of social rules might permit them, pour some water into their pots. They have no right, by Hindu Law and religion, to a drop of water which God has created for them as for anybody else. They are losers too economically as they cannot enter a shop or buy or sell in markets run by caste people. And their children, poor little things, are not admitted into ordinary schools and when admitted, they are made to sit at a distance from other children. These people dare not enter the houses of caste people, and if they did at all, apart from the punishment they would incur, all the water in the house would be thrown out and the house itself washed with cow-dung and purified. They are shut out from the precincts of temples. Nor can they enter Christian churches either in rural parts,—a base copy of their Hindu brethren; and where they are admitted, a separate place is allotted to them. These Christians are the followers of a religion that teaches them "love thy neighbour as thyself". And here is a practical proof of that love. And I say, whatever glories may be in store for India under Swaraj one thing comes home with dogmatic certainty to every straight-thinking Indian, and that is, justice which forms the bulwark and the consolation of the mass millions under the British Rule will say "Good bye" to India, leaving them in the old slush of barefaced, delibarate, legalised injustice, mockery and contempt.

The surface cause of the high caste man subjecting a low caste to such indignities is that he is unclean and follows a menial profession. But it goes deeper. The root cause of all the woes of this pitiable scapegoat is to be traced to the unquestionable belief in "Karma" or fate. The poor outcast is thus fated to live in a condition of curse in consequence of the evil deeds he had committed in his precious births. His condition is therefore sealed. "Of a state natural to him by whom can he be divested?" was the old cry of the Code of Manu which transfixed him to his fate under the denunciations of religion. And so the high-caste man and the Brahman in particular avoid him more as a moral curse than a material dirt. If the present generation of an age of progress and enlightenment show no tendency of relaxation in their treatment of these unfortunate people, it is because they are unconscious inheritors of an injustice which, by its long-lived immunity and complacency, has become part and parcel of their religion, their civilisation and a distinguishing mark of social superiority.

There is another group of 70 millions accounted as lower orders. These occupy a middle position between the high-castes and the untouchables, such as barbers, washermen, blacksmiths, cattle breeders, oil-mongers, toddy-drawers, fishermen and their like. These are held down as low castes, for the crime of their professions which are considered as mean and degrading, heirlooms of ignominy. Though not subject to the same treatment as outcasts yet, in their contact with superior castes in their everyday life, they are made to feel the sting of their social inferiority. There are layers under layers of humiliating distinctions till the sub-strata could put their heads up just a wee-bit above untouchability.

It is idle to deny the counter-currents that are at work stemming desperately the deep prejudices and superstitions of caste which overwhelm the 220 millions of uncompromising India. And these currents are the English education with its highly moralising effect, the stress of circumstances compelling unwilling people to travel together in trains, tram-cars, omnibuses and ferries, and reside side by side in the crowded streets of cities and populous towns ; the fear of the law that protects the personal honour of individuals, how low so ever, against the contumelious behaviour of a superior caste ; the magnificent efforts of philanthropic bodies, those apostles of Divine charity like Servants of India Society, Social Reformers, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Depressed Classes Mission, the Theosophical Society, and the Social Service Leagues and effusions of sacrifice and energy which the noble body of Christian Missionaries are putting forth in the cause of humanity by uplifting the depressed classes and reinstating them on a social level where they may be able to assert their position and their rights as human beings. But despite the counter forces put forth by East and West combined, the redoubtable caste is there with rural India for its strong hold. " A tower of strength that stands full square to all the winds that blow ".

Nowhere does Hindu conservatism assert itself so glaringly as in its persistence in the practice of infant marriage. This is prevalent among higher castes prominently in Orissa, Bombay, Baroda, Central India and Haiderabad. In this enlightened age of the world when the old order of things drift away before the intellectual aggression of modern civilisation, fully alive as they are, of the evil consequences of infant and early marriages, still they carry on. Child-widowhood which is the most pitiable sight on Earth is one of the woeful consequences of early marriage. Here is some estimation of it. From the last census we learn that in 1921 there were 110,626,596 males and 105,611,201 females of a population of 216,237,797 Hindus; of these, the widowed males were 7,607,612 and females were 20,218,780; which again was classified as: the number of widows from 0 to 5 years was 11,892; from 5 to 10 years, 85,037 and from 10 to 15 years, 232,147. These children are doomed in their dereliction; they are widows for life. Instead of the joys of life, these little children must be drinking its bitterness to the very last. Social Reformers, particularly the most philanthropic "Widow Re-marriage Society" at Lahore with their branches in different centres of India are doing excellent work in the service of the Indian womanhood. It is most gratifying that Bills have been introduced in the Assembly and Madras and Bombay Councils fixing the marriage age for boys and girls preferably at 18 and 14 respectively. But, unfortunately, the national poison of Hindu orthodoxy as exemplified by the unyielding attitude of Kumbaconum Brahmans stands opposed tooth and nail to this Reform which proposes to safeguard the well-being and the happiness of the little ones of India. But, let us hope that the stern determination of social reformers in the councils and out of them will bear down all such opposition and let the Bill have the legal sanction.

Early Marriage brings other evils in its train. Rev. Holland's Goal of India gives a sample of orthodoxy. "This is not the place to enter into the detailed description of all the untold and uncalled for suffering and even torture that is endured day by day by the child-mothers of India. We give below an extract from a lecture to Indians by Mrs. Annie Besant who professes to be in many respects an upholder of Hindu custom and beliefs, though condemning this wrong. The writer possesses a carefully written statement on this subject by a lady doctor who has a large hospital for Indian women. Its contents —it is a matter of fact document with no expression of feeling—are not suited for these pages, but they are such as to make one's heart cry out in anger and pity that such things can be. (The extract :) 'I had a letter the other day from a friend of mine. A girl relative of his had been married at twelve. She became a mother next year at thirteen. When child-birth was upon her, she lay four days in agony with the unborn child in an agony that none knows save those who have gone through the gate way of motherhood. At last it became so intolerable to those who watched her that they put her under chloroform. For ten hours she lay under chloroform ; then the child was born dead ; the mother died. A girl of thirteen was sent through that agony." ' The writer knows of similar cases of cruel suffering causing death or lifelong ill-health. When the mothers of these girls are appealed to do something to put a stop to these miseries, their invariable answer is, " What can we do? Our daughters must be married before twelve, or no one will have them ?"

This case, most shocking as it is, is but a flea-bite by the side even of a tenth of the horrors, as reviewed by Journals with their pros and cons of Miss Mayo's "Mother India." There is little use and it reflects still less credit to educated India to merely condemn and dismiss the book as a libel upon the nation. India has certainly heads and hearts to refute her whirlwind statements, and it is gratifying that it is being widely done. But, to be candid, equally with its refutation comes the wholesome necessity to turn upon ourselves and ask if that book which has shaken India and the English-speaking world, is not, in spite of the indignant protests and condemnations hurled at it, really a blessing in disguise as it urges every true-hearted Indian to acknowledge the stern reality as far as it exists and work its eradication by drastic measures and thereby save India from being continuously exposed by well-intentioned though over or misinformed foreigners as a land of odium.

While considering the degradation to which Indian womanhood is consigned by law and custom, we must here for very love and honour of our great country, admit the most flagrant of all shame that disgraces the name and character of proud intellectual India, against which social reformers have been shouting from house tops; but their voices are unheeded. Surely, it cannot be suffered to exist indefinitely. It is the age-long iniquity of relegating, in the name of religion, young girls to a life of shame in places reserved for the public exercise of religion and Divine worship. "To this day troops of dancing girls who are called *devadasis*, servants of the god and who now and then do take part in the ritual, but whose real occupation is prostitution, are connected with most of the temples of the South and West, and do immeasurable harm. Women scour the country and adopt or buy little girls to bring them up to this infamous life. Near the great temple of Jagannath at Puri, I have seen little girls of six and ten, hardly clothed except with jewels, whose bold faces showed they mere being trained for the hideous life to which through marriage to the god, they had been dedicated. It made one shudder, turned one almost sick. Male prostitutes are attached to some temples in Western India." "How can God reside in brothels?" asks Mahatma Gandhi. Were I a Gandhi, I would not bother about Neil statue or Non-co-operation or political Reforms leading to Swaraj, but, charged with full Satyagraha, straight away drain the temples of *devadasis* put them in a home and spin their honour and the honour of India on the Khaddar. It is divine gospel to India that Dr. Latshmini with a most heroic heart in the cause of Indian womanhood introduced in the recent Legislative Council of Madras a Bill bringing under legal prohibition this crime of dedicating girls to the service of temples which, however true and noble in itself, serves as a sanctimonions cover to their unavoidable life of sin and shame in such sacred places. To the glory of South India, the Bill was passed.

India cries for reformation. Does it require an army of reformers to put her through because she is so great and unwieldy? Not necessarily. It was one man, the little corporal of Corsica that revolutionised Europe and altered the political destiny of the world. And has there ever existed on Earth a system of religion which, in its origin, its discipline its propagation, its government, and its head, can compare with the Roman Catholic Church? The most stalwart nations crouched in fear before it. For over a thousand years, its will was the law of Europe. Even this mighty Church was broken up by one man, Martin Luther. In the good old days of India again, it was only one man Sankaracharry who crushed Buddhism which was the state religion of India under the Mauryan Emperors and restored Hinduism to its old place. These great men were born of circumstances which cried for revolutions; and revolutions burst with them and were gone, inflicting their lessons and their consequences upon generations born and urborn. India is just now in the throes of moral and social revolutions. They are necessary for her very existence. "Heaven sufferth violence and the violent shall bear it away" says the great Master. Apart from its direct import of being a place or a state of eternal bliss after life, Heaven may be taken to symbolise any great and lasting good which cannot be achieved by those who pose for reformers walking on the velvet-path of non-violence. Hail then a hero carrying the banner of revolution in one hand and the fire of victory in the other. "Bhai Paramanand, a prominent Hindu Sabha worker in the Punjab" says a local paper, owing to some differences with the Hindu Maha Sabha, proposes shortly to start an Independent Hindu Movement with the object of unifying Hindus on the principles of equality and brotherhood, irrespective of castes and creeds. Writing on this subject from

Srinagar, Bhai Paramanand says, 'This will mean, of course, the creation of a social revolution among the Hindus and will require the ultimate abolition of castes and creeds. In my opinion, such a revolution is the great need of the time. The present social system of the Hindus stands like a rock in the way of Sangathan, etc. The society that I propose to start for the promotion of equality and brotherhood among Hindus is to be named the Hindu Samyavad Mandal. The word Hindu may be taken in a very wide sense signifying every one who regards India with love and devotion and as Motherland and holds the memory of ancestors as a sacred heritage." This indeed is social earthquake which will rock India to the bed! If it passes his powers even, I hope not, to give effect to this gigantic revolution, he may yet, having once started, be the pioneer of an accomplishment which is perhaps reserved in the near future for a hero who will be rolled out to prominence by time and circumstances to play his role in the achievements of races and set his seal upon the ineffaceable destiny of India.

We have perforce digressed somewhat from the main theme. We must get back to the lower orders and the depressed classes who number 120 millions. If, to these, another 150 millions be added, that gives us an idea of the mass millions whose intellectual state coupled with poverty which has clung to them like their shadow, makes the ruling authorities pause and reflect, nay feel qualms about it. They cannot speak; but their long, unbroken silence speaks volumes of their helplessness and needs. In their silence is their pathetic appeal for a friendly paternal and firm hand to protect them from external invasions and internal wars and disorders which, if let loose, would blow them off like chaff by the wind, and from dacoity, incendiarism and general lawlessness; when threatened by the devastations of plagues and famines, not to suffer them to perish in cold abandonment but, by all human means, to help them in their desperate struggle for life; to let a ray of enlightenment penetrate their mind of darkness and sleep and enable them to wake up from the long night of illiteracy and emerge from the poverty of ages and from their squalid habitations to a condition which might be a little brighter and happier in life; to lighten the burden of taxation and to protect them from being rudely tossed by those in opulence and power and prove to be unjust and oppressive. To this immense congregation of peoples commingled with the little band of educated classes engaged in their just and ceaseless agitation for political advancement, as they heave and swell under the canopy of heaven, moved on by the machinery of administration as unconsciously and imperceptibly as by the rotation of the earth, appears a mysterious hand with a Scroll on which is written, "Passport to Parliamentary Government."

Judging from the sentiments and public utterances of Indian politicians themselves competent to express their views on the subject, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme seems to be confronted by grave misgivings. This disturbing of the placid pathetic contentment of the masses, that is, the stirring up of the deep waters might re-act upon them as an under-current and sweep away the very foundations on which their safety and well-being rest. Already responsible statesmen have called for a break-water on the Scheme. In any case, to drop it at any time would be a political travesty making for more troubles; and to accelerate it would be the case of the goose and the golden eggs. This much contested scheme is put into the hands of educated Indians for the accomplishment of their high political aspirations on the principle of trust and co-operation. Therefore, if, on this golden principle, cushioning all personal and political differences, mellowing down the fierce distinctions of race and religion, waking up to the full consciousness of imperial national dignity, co-operating heart and soul with the Government, especially in those grave problems that affect the honour, the lives and the well-being of the mass millions, girding up their loins as a counter-part of that magnificent body of administrators,—the Indian Civil Service who, by their matchless achievements since their creation, stand out upon the annals of history as one of the ablest ruling bodies of the world; and following up the path of righteousness which loves to look upon the meanest in the land as their fellow being worthy of consideration and respect, the Indian-politicians in the Councils and in the administration discharge their serious duties in that spirit of devotion and distinterestedness which characterise all noble minds labouring for the upheaval of a nation, then this Scheme is bound to fulfil the expectations of those high functionaries who have framed and given it to India for her lasting good. But if, on the other hand, a spirit of distrust and non-co-operation overrules them, they, in total disregard to the millions, ride roughshod over the country and build up their own pelf and aggrandisement at the expense of a helpless humanity, and, actuated by racial hatred against the British rulers they erect themselves into a fortress of defiance, then this scheme with its dyarchic system will be just the two pillars in the hands of the blind Sampson of Biblical history. It has had a tentative or rather transitional period of six years and there are two pictures on view : the one drawn by co-operation and the other by non-co-operation. With a will and a courage worthy of their political designations, stemming the adverse currents sprung everywhere by violent political parties who were determined to nag and overthrow the Government in every possible way and without the least precedent to look upon in the arduous task of running the novel ' dyarchy ' fraught with intricacies and tussles, the Leberals and the Moderates in the North and the Justicites in the South displayed, during the first five years of the Reform in its experimental and therefore the most difficult stage, not a small skill in the performance of their administrative duties. To their prudence, zeal and co-operation with Government are due, among other things, the creation of the Advisory Board of Industry, the organisation of labour classes, the education of their children and the Factories Acts, the extended activities of the Departments of Agriculture, research institutes of various kinds, the creation of fresh Universities, the introduction of compulsion in elementary education in various provinces, the admission of children of the depressed classes to ordinary schools and the all round labours of the self-government.

The greatest menace to the Reform is Non-Co-operation whose political significance cannot be underrated. It has enlisted the willing services of several thousands of influential people of both the intellectual and industrial classes and its activity is not confined to India. Its vital policy is to apply death-ray to the Government from a distance and kill it without bloodshed. "The object of Non-Co-operation is the overthrow of the British power so that on its ruins Swaraj may aise." It sounds very plausible, indeed, to hear of Swaraj rising from the ruins of the British Rule. It would, therefore, strain its utmost to pull down the citadel of a foreign power and upon its ruined site, put up the magnificent edifice of National Independence. Verily, this is grand patriotism, but too tall for India. For its success, it depends, above all things, upon national unity and strength. Now I ask, is there any such thing as an Indian nation? I wish I could say, yes; but, in very truth, India is a conglomeration of a hundred warring races welded for the first time in her history of three thousand years into a political whole under the British flag. Therefore, the British rule in India is a most amazing phenomenon in the history of the human race. And that Rule has been marked for the past hundred years by unprecedented peace and progress of the country. Therefore, Swaraj is possible, not on its ruins, but under its aegis. Convinced of the utility and the necessity of the British Rule in India, most of the educated classes are loyal which is openly expressed by a few and maintained by most in reticence. But, unfortunately, the extremist few some of whom are towering personalities, amiable and religious in their ways, yet, stifling all sentiments of piety and brushing aside the dictates of prudence under the impulse of a passing rancour, conscious as they are of the inflammable state of a revolutionary world which surrounds them and all that they hold dear and sacred in the country with the vigilance of devouring wolves, delight in poisoning the minds of the rising generation with mis-statements fabricated against the ruling authorities and make it a business to tell a credulous posterity that all the proverty and misery of India are due to the British Rule and that her salvation, therefore, lies in the destruction of that rule. And they give practical effect to their preaching by resorting to methods of violence and want the British to clear out of the country bag and baggage. They are not unnaturally looked upon by a peering world as a thankless race pampered into this suicidal belief by the seductions of a patriotism which in its practical analysis betrays itself into an unfounded racial animosity whose infatuous activities are calculated to hurl the country into depthless ruin.

The mere utterance of Non-Co-operation irresistibly raises before us the subtlest of all political spirits, Mr. Gandhi. He is said to have formed his mentality from the teachings of Count Tolstoi—the famous philosopher revolutionist of Russia. He is opposed to modern civilisation as manifested in its western culture, law-courts, railways and other wonderful conveyances, and progress of humanity achieved upon the marvels of science that surround us. His South African experience of Non-Co-operation drove into his mind that it is a most powerful weapon to use in India against the oppression and unsuitability of an alien rule, to obliterate every trace of it and to restore India to her ancient simplicity and righteousness of rule. Moreover the treatment he had received in South Africa from an unsympathetic Government not unnaturally served to inspire him with an incurable hatred against the whiteman. He was convinced of the superiority of the spiritual force over the base material force, particularly in India which is, above all and beyond all, the most spiritual nation on earth. The fineness of his nature revolted against the least idea of violence. And so the weapon he forged was singular in its strength and temper. It was not difficult for a mind like Mr. Gandhi's to perceive what value asceticism has for the masses, especially when they are persuaded that the demonstration of that spirituality meant nothing but self-inflicted martyrdom for the regeneration of India. And so in the Mahatma was lodged the double dynamite, asceticism and passive resistance. To the Hindu mind, immersed in spirituality, nothing appeals so devoutly and so passionately as the life of man who practises self-immolation for a cause. Everything augured well for the appearance of this phenomenal comet upon the horizon of India. The Great War was over, leaving the world in the tremor of moral earthquake. And India was not the least among nations to rock and to rend. The Punjab outrages and Rowlatt Bill were swaying the educated and political classes into exasperation which manifested itself by ceaseless meetings, phillipics, threatening revolutions and manifestoes and various other forms of national virility. The Hindus were thus seething in discontent. There was another element in the field whose heroic loyalty was tried almost to breaking point. They fought well in the Great War; they shed their blood freely and profusely and laid down their lives, side by side, with their European comrades in every part of the world, and, what is more commendable, they fought their own co-religionists in Turkey and contributed not a little to the defeat of that great Islamic power in Europe. But the Treaty of Severes, followed by the distressful Khilafat question and the anti-Turkish operations in the West consequent upon the repeated massacres of the Armenians, naturally alienated their hearts and they were inclined to look upon the activities of European nations with reference to Turkey as a deliberate attempt to crush down the Ottaman Empire. Little wonder that the whole Mussulman races in India were pressed into a solid mass ready to defend their conscience, their creed and their nationality against the imperiousness of the West. Thus it was when the soil of India was so very inflammable that Mr. Gandhi came out with his bombshell of Non-co-operation to blow up the British Rule in India and upon its ruins to put up his Swaraj. And the acids he used to make his explosive were boycott of British goods, the resignation of titles and honorary offices, the withdrawal from Government services in every department, the refusal to pay taxes to Government, cessation of legal practices leaving all cases of litigation in a damaging suspense, refusal to enter Government schools and colleges and the new Council chambers, that is, to kill Government in cold blood. Having completely captured the National Congress, Mr. Gandhi virtually became its dictator, forced his Non-co-operative programme upon it and proclaimed the advent of Swaraj in the course of a single year. It now seemed as though the British Raj has reeled back to make room for Gandhi Raj. Sober and practical men and level-headed politicians nodded their heads and asked if doom was not the inevitable result of all the activities of a raving propaganda under the specious boon of a millenium. But the dare-devil fire brands, the illiterate masses, the credulous mobs misguided by national volunteers who were simply let loose upon them to make capital out of their ignorance, the educated classes having lost their balance of mind, and the pity of it all, the student population whose youthful inexperience made them eagerly run after a glittering bubble, and others again swayed by the novelty of a lawless patriotism, all these were caught in a perfect political storm which was lashed into fury by the constant presence and preaching of the arch-patriot and revolutionary Mr. Gandhi. In 1921 alone there were at least sixty outbreaks in different parts of India. Non-co-operation is held responsible for the appalling Sikh tragedy of the Tara Taran in the Punjab; the riots and strikes of the East Indian Railway collieries and the Oudh and Rohilkand Railways; the flagrant disorders of Nagpur, Assam, and the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. The attainment of Swaraj naturally called for an enormous expense; and to meet it, Mr. Gandhi, with the aid of the Ali Brothers raised what was called the Tilak Swaraj Fund, which was to bring in a crore of rupees, and this was to be expended on the upkeep of a vigorous press, public preaching, the organisation of national volunteers whish was a fusion of the old Congress and Khilafat volunteers, the effective operation of the boycott on British goods and for every conceivable purpose to bring about the deadlock of Government and Swaraj within a year. And, indeed, in July 1921, to the exultation of No-co-operation and its auxiliary forces, it was announced that the desired total of the crore had been collected. This, of course, gave further impetus to the work of defiance and disaster. And at Giridish in Bihar a crowd of ten thousand, incensed at the trial of national volunteers for inciting the mobs to lawlessness, burst into a riot, pillaging and destroying the police station. Melagaon in Bombay Karachi, Dahrwar, Assam, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, tell their tales again of murders, strikes, riots, communal outbreaks, aggressive methods of the volunteers resulting in terrorism, anarchy and chaos under the British flag. And just then, like pouring oil on a burning fire, came the outburst of the Khilafat agitation. They held a conference of extraordinary import at Karachi under the guidance of the Ali Brothers, at which it was decided that if the Khilafat grievance was not redressed they would prevail upon the National Congress that was to sit at Allahabad to proclaim an Indian Republic by the end of the year. Their activities spread further to the barracks and the righteousness of deserting the Army was inculcated upon the sepoys with the object of winning them over to Non-co-operation and if possible to re-act the scenes of '57. The Government now perceived that they had arrived near the precipice of a criminal tolerance; and before the first sign of mutiny, the Ali Brothers, as the prime cause of this plan of revolt against the Government, were arrested, tried and condemned. But this retribution evoked a terrible revenge elsewhere. The Malabar district is peopled by two million Hindus and a million Mahomedans of a low, ferocious type. Under the British Rule, they revolted against Government so frequently and committed such atrocities in their behaviour that they have earned the unenviable name of mad Moplas. The Khilafat wrongs and the fate of the Ali Brothers were means powerful enough in the hands of fanatical preachers who were backed by the unscrupulous Non-co-operation to inflame the passions of the Mopla mobs and incite them to rebellion against Government. For six months the Moplah country was given up to all the horrors which an unbridled fanaticism, fed with the instinct of blood-thirstiness could perpetrate; and the pretext offered itself forthwith. It was a little squabble of an ordinary nature between the police and Mopla crowd. But this incident served as a spark to ignite the whole district and keep it aflame for six months. Police stations and public offices were stormed and their records in them consigned to fire ; Hindu temples were sacked and desecrated ; European houses were burnt down. Hindus were tortured to death or forced to the faith of Islam. Hindu women were foully outraged and all private business came to a stand still ; Khilafat flags were hoisted, and the bulk of the people in despair and fright lay crouching under the terrors of a fanaticism which boldly proclaimed the advent of the Kingdom of Islam in India. But the forces that raised the storm were powerless to control it. They left that work for the British army, the British navy and air-force to do; and thereby they prevented the rehearsal of similar scenes in other provinces.

The next move of Non-Co-operation that brought absolute discredit upon it was its achievement during the historic visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who came to India as her friend and not as a political agent. Mr. Gandhi, with his honied assurance of non-violence upon his lips and a huge following made up of the National volunteers and hooligans of all types of Non-Co-operation indulged, in all the areas mapped out for the Royal tour, in such unbecoming scenes of violence that, not only did it mar the receptions worthy of our future Emperor, but made the outside world remark that, in their blind hatred against the British, Non-Co-operation failed to observe the very rudiments of etiquette. Still the wave of Non-Co-operation riots rolled on gathering in volume and force, till Mr. Gandhi, riding on its crest, in the height of popular power, issued an ultimatum to the Government of India expecting the Viceroy to yield to the imperious demands of Non-Co-operation, which, in brief, were the repeal of the seditious Meetings and Criminal Law Amendment Acts, the release of all political prisoners, the restoration of fines and forfeitures imposed upon offenders during the riots; and further declared as its condition that if, within seven days of the service of this ultimatum upon the Viceroy, the Government of India failed to give an answer, he would let loose his formidable mass civil disobedience upon the country, and pointed out Bardoli as the fire fuse. The

Government in a communique retorted that his demands were extravagant and impossible and that the mass civil disobedience would be met with measures of sternness and severity. Now then, confronted by a stern Government, abandoned by the moderate party, and disgusted by the major bulk of educated classes by his fruitless, expensive, toilsome, shifting propaganda, Mr. Gandhi with a desperate tenacity, clutched at civil disobedience as his only alternative and went to Bardoli to personally conduct his monstrous campaign of non-violence. But to his horror and the horror of all India, Chouri Chaura became the scene of a most horrible tragedy in the deliberate murder of twenty-one Police and rural watchmen by his volunteers. And this atrocious act broke the backbone of Non-Co-operation. It fell, never to rise again.

Now, one might ask, what was Government doing all this while. Well, with wistful gaze and intolerable tolerance and with timely warnings and cautious application of law, they were watching and recording the extraordinary and fatal developments of Non-Co-operation. And when the smoke of political incendiarism in this country rolled its surging billows into the India Office in London, Mr. Montagu the Secretary of State who saw in it the first vision of what his daring experiment of disturbing the placid pathetic contentment of the masses had evoked, got off his place. And this was the signal for the arrest and conviction of one of the most remarkable men of modern times who so heroically carried in his gentle hands the championship of India's liberty to the roar of license and terrorism. Silently did India mourn the fate of Mr. Gandhi who, by his own impetuosity and headstrong patriotism, disregarding the advice of his staunchest and truest friends, brought it upon himself. The worst enemies of the British Rule cannot easily cite an instance where the patience of a Government, loaded with grave responsibilities, was exercised half as much as in the case of him who, in a most provocative manner dared the lion in his den. But that patience was rated down to pusillanimity and hence the memorable scenes at London and Ahmedabad.

Now, for a bit of reflection: Non-Co-operation, borne on the shoulders of Mr. Gandhi, claimed championship of India's liberty. It enlisted the sympathies of the aristocratic and educated classes, mustered under its banner mobs and masses alike, organised a militia, set up strifes, riots and anarchy, tried to alienate the loyalty of the police and troops, warred on Government, prepared the country for a universal inssurection, spread its reign of disorder and bloodshed everywhere, collected ten million rupees, promising to give India Swaraj in the course of a single year, and played indeed a most astonishing role in the history of modern India. And where is it now? In its restless, profitless, short lived life and sudden death, it has left a deep lesson. Every thinking mind reads in that lesson the dangerous consequences of leaping in the dark, and the insane, not to say criminal, act of rising under leaders whose word, however great and sincere, yet, as events clearly proved concerning the safety and the well-being of an immense nation like India, cannot be greedily swallowed and who could give us, for it is decidedly out of their power, no guarantee for the protection of our lives and property, in a blind revolt against a humane and a powerfully constituted authority, and to form a mighty coalition of the rich, the aristocratic, and the educated, the forces of fanaticism, rowdyism and anarchism and all the powers of heaven and hell, what for? to whistle for a wind!

The soul of Non-Co-operation dead in the hand of its originator transmigrated into the body politic, called the Swarajists or Home Rulers. These are great patriots, great theorists; and true to their instinct, they entertain the idealistic view that the British Rule is no good for India and that her best interests are best served by the sons of the soil. They embody the extremist section of political opinion with whom practical patriotism is out of the question.

It may be interesting to know whence emanated the idea of Swaraj. It is, I should think, no disparagement to India to state that the serious idea of Home Rule or Swaraj has originated from a representative of a race which, through a history of seven hundred years of deathless tenacity and martyrdom has striven to attain its independence. To that intellectual prodigy Mrs. (Dr.) Annie Besant, an Irish lady of incredible energy and enthusiasm, does India owe the conception of Home Rule. The achievements of the Indian National Congress, it would appear, for over thirty years were but a vast preparation for a struggle which it was reserved for her personality and genius to launch. And the time that presented itself for the infliction of her bold design upon the country calls for notice. The Great War was on; the world was in commotion; Europe was deluged in blood; humanity was almost fainting at some mysterious calamity that seemed to overhang the universe; every country in Europe was a scene of horror and bloodshed; the best of mankind, the flower of chivalry, millions of them had met with a ghastly fate and lain in cold, coffinless graves; kings and queens were grieved to death over a calamity so appalling, so universal; British women and women of Europe had left their homes and their little ones in them and hurried to the scenes of slaughter, there to dress the wounded, to slake their dying thirst and to whisper the last consoling word into the ears of the parting heroes. The Englishman, as the supreme figure in the world struggle, was standing knee-deep in the blood of nations trying to slay a terrific giant. The whole of the British Empire, the Colonies and India with her princes and peoples, was by his side inspiring him to cut down the foe whose desperate valour could scarcely be curbed by the strength of a confederated mankind. Such was the time, the moment of moments which Mrs. Besant seized to launch her agitation and demand for India's Home Rule. The fire she struck in Madras soon spread over India, and urged the visit to this country of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, who, perspicuous of the signs of the hour, placated the educated classes by his famous pronouncement of August 20th, 1917. This was soon followed by the promulgation of the Montagu-Chemlsford Reforms which, as we have seen, are remarkable as a scheme, the first of its kind, which purports to launch the hundreds of millions of India's peoples on a plane wherein they could work out, through a steady progress of enlightenment and experience, their political autonomy within the British Commonwealth. The Government of India Act of 1919 has placed India on a definite path towards the realisation of national independence. But as India, half blind and half seeing, was trudging along with panting breath and dubious steps along the novel path of democracy, the spectacular Non-Co-operation intervened and, displaying the utmost of its capacity, destroyed itself as a political force. But its spirit came upon the Swarajists under whose banner were enlisted, not a disorderly, terrorising, mercenary mob but ablest intellects, men of extraordinary influence and courage whose attitude and utterances weigh with the political world. Mr. Gandhi, though in a different place, was still their Guru. And, of course, under his guidance, they started their campaign by boycotting the councils. They not only stood aloof from them, but never spared themselves in their attempt to dissuade others from entering them. But very soon they became alive to the fact that their policy of aloofness and destruction of councils from without offered but a poor scope for the exercise of their talents and the attainment of Swaraj. As they were thus battling between die-hard Gandhiism and their own elastic conventionalism, the Congress met at Gaya in December 1922 which disclosed the development of the two phases of Swarajism within its pale : The one was charged with the spirit of Mr. Gandhi and stood for a policy of thorough boycott of councils, cloth and everything calculated to kill Government from a distance ; and the other, under the leadership of the late Mr. C. R. Das while in complete accord with the spirit of Non-Co-operation in other respects, was in favour of entering the councils. The former called "No Changers" stood firm in their adherance to the principles of rigid Non-Co-operation; while the latter, in pursuance of the policy of more energetic tactics, became malleable at least to the extent of entering the councils as it gave them sufficient opportunities of wrecking the Constitution from within and paralysing Government. But by a strange *Coup de tat* the No-changers were made amenable to the policy to which their dissentients committed themselves. Having thus secured the official sanction of the Congress, the Swarajists were bold in their manoeuvres for council entry. The election of 1923 turned them out in large numbers, particularly in Central Provinces, Bengal, Bombay, and the United Provinces. Everywhere they succeeded in ousting the Liberals and Independents from the field of contest.

Though the Swarajists inflicted serious obstacle upon the administration, still there are provisions in the Act which enable Government to say with Tennysons' brook "Men may come and men may go but I go on for ever". By such emergency powers vested in the head of the Government, the essentials of the administration were carried on. Nor were the activities of this new protestant element in other provincial councils of any serious consequence. But the tactics employed by them in the Central Legislature invite notice. In their incapacity to command a majority in the Assembly, they very cleverly effected a coalition with the Independents who emphatically maintained that their co-operation with the Swarajists in the council postulated the absolute reversal of their policy and wreckage and destruction of the Constitution. The Swarajists were thus driven to the necessity of adopting a policy of constitutional opposition, and hence Responsive Co-operation became their inevitable standpoint. Responsive co-operation is a phrase which denotes " a critical attitude towards Government, coupled with readiness in certain circumstances to receive a lucrative post from Government." In this way the fusion of two different policies under pressure of circumstances resulted in the formation of what is called the National party, which from now plays a very prominent part in the Assembly.

In the Delhi Session of 1924 a Resolution was adopted that, " This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible Government in India ; and for the said purpose (*a*) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities, the scheme of a Constitution for India ; and (*b*) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme for approval before a newly elected Indian Legislature and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute book "

The Provincial executive, with its dyarchic system is indeed an ingenious machine designed to turn out much good work ; but the two wheels on which it rests seem to be of dissimilar proportions. The Constitution does not and cannot possibly provide a stone wall between the "transferred" and "reserved" subjects. The effect of the administration of one group of subjects has its relative bearing upon the other. There is thus the fusion of interest on either side, not in authority alone, but, in the most omnipotent of all things, money. The first half has its thumb upon the purse. Hence, the first years of its existence are marked by restlessness, uncertainty, suspicion, friction and impatience and also attempts to wreck the Constitution altogether. The position of Ministers, financially handicapped in their free and honest endeavour to administer their province, is rendered extremely difficult. If they stuck to their guns, the other side might give them a cold shrug; and if they were less rigid in their duties, apart from their own sense of responsibility, their patrons the electors, would punch them: They are thus placed between Charybdis and Scylla. In this handicap of Ministers to do full justice to their offices are manifest the limitations upon popular control, which is a weak point in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. These conditions, inseparable from an experimental constitution, naturally called for a rivision of the Act. The Indian opinion made itself heard in the Legislative Assembly. The Swarajists, headed by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, were emphatic in their assertion that the Reform was halting and imperfect and inadequate to meet the political aspirations of India, that the 'dyarchy' was a machine for interminable frictions and that the declaration in the Preamble of the Act, namely, "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament," placed the authority and the people on acute levels. The Government of India was convinced that there was a case for an enquiry into the working of the Constitution. And so, under pressure of Indian opinion, early in 1924, a Committee was formed of distinguished statesmen, both British and Indian, under the presidency of Sir Alexander Muddiman, with the task of detecting imperfections in the working of the constitution, and devising means of rectifying such defects either by rules of the Act or by such amendments as might be consistent with the spirit of the Act itself. The Committee divided itself into two groups, the majority and the minority. The former consisted of Sir Alexander Muddiman, Sir Mahomed Shafi, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Arthur Froom and Sir Henry Moncrief Smith. The scope of their task of finding remedies for imperfections in the working of the constitution was restricted within the structure, policy and purpose of the Act. The latter group was formed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Paranjpye. Their Reports were published in 1925. To put them in brief: The majority submitted that the Constitution in the face of deliberate attempts of extremists to wreck it in the councils had worked satisfactorily in most provinces, giving ministers and members an efficient training in Parliamentary methods of administration; that the joint deliberations of both the reserved and transferred subjects with the Governor presiding over the council of nominated members and ministers sitting together had not been tried; that the thorny problem of the Reserved side being vested with the control of the finance department might be solved by withholding the main spending department from its hand and strengthening the position of Ministers by providing them a financial Adviser to assist them in their proposals for expenditure, and that the backwardness of electoral classes in general and the communal tensions were factors that greatly interfered with the harmonious working of the reform and retarted the progress of India towards self-government. Opposed to this was the opinion of the minority who submitted that the dyarchy in its intrinsic merit did not and could never succeed as an administrative system which necessitated the overhauling of the Act; that the Joint deliberations would be fruitless unless there was provision for a common responsibility, that the ministerial handicap in financial matters could only be overcome by the replacement of dyarchy by a unitary and responsible government, and that the electoral backwardness and communal tensions might be set aside as exaggerated.

The Simla Session of 1925 was marked with unusual vigour throughout its deliberations particularly on the Main Resolution put forward by Alexander Muddiman recommending the adoptation by the Assembly of the Majority report. The chief points of consideration he placed before them were that the pivot on which the whole Act moved was the indestructible Preamble of the Act which indicated that the process must be gradual in proportion to the increase of experience of members in administration and the advancement of the electorate in political education ; that the Constitution, during the first three years, far from being worked in a spirit of co-operation, was menaced by Non-Co-operation with destruction, and that the Minority Report had no points to offer but a recommendation for a Royal Commission to revise the Act. But, Pundit Moti Lal Nehru, with transcendant ability, placed before the Assembly an Amendment urging for its adoption the Minority Report stating in support of his arguments that the recommendations of the Majority were inadequate to meet the demands of national aspiration, that the dyarchy was unthinkable as a workable machine and that the Act must be revised with a view to providing for India a fully responsible government. The Amendment, after two days discussing was carried in the Assembly by an overwhelming majority. But the Main Resolution was adopted in the Council of State.

It is equally interesting to follow the fortunes of the Swaraj party outside the councils. Very elastic indeed are the tactics they display in maintaining their predominence in the field of politics and unflinching their courage in difficult circumstances in which they get embroiled. Actuated by the avowed object of killing the constitution and by it the Government, they at first started their campaign of boycotting the councils by aloofness. Their next move was to enter them to wreck it from within; and so, they obstructed automatically every Government measure, and, in two provinces where they commanded a majority, they worked the constitution to a dead-lock. They then assumed by force of circumstances, the attitude of responsive Co-operation. Some of their ablest leaders accepted offices under Government, which means that the weapon which at first was forged to destroy the constitution became its shield and support. Mr. Kelkar of Bombay so nicely puts it when he says, "There was a time when, in the Assembly, we could make no constructive proposal, say, a motion even to refer a Bill to a select committee. Then came a time when we were allowed to make such motions, but not to take a seat on any of the committees. Then came a time when we could accept only elective seats under special dispensation of the Executive authority. Now, I grant that all these developments were natural and were symptoms of a definite new policy, that is to say, a policy somewhat different from the policy of hide-bound obstruction." It is strange that the stronghold of Swarajism betrayed its internal weakness. When Mr. Tambe, the leader of the Swarajists in the Central Provinces accepted the office of the Executive Councillor in the Government of the same province, the signs of disruption in the same camp became too glaring. And so, some of the most ardent spirits amongst them headed by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru met at Nagpur in November 1925, to stem the tide of defection. As the Swaraj Party thus solely tried by internal dissensions was undergoing paradoxical transformations not knowing whither they were drifting, the National Congress held its annual session in December 1925. The most remarkable thing in the Meeting of which our country might well feel proud was the President Mrs. Sarojni Naidu, an Indian lady of a wide reputation as a poetess. But her powers, remarkable as they were as an orator and a politician, were not strong enough to break down the wall that separated Swarajism into two opposing opinions. The Congress over, the all-round activities of the Swarajists in Provinces invariably pointed to their faith in responsive co-operation. Little wonder then that Mr. Gandhi stood aloof from the fresh developments of this party which, in fact, was a challenge to his old, infirm, pet policy of boycott.

As a counter move of Hindu activities in the Congress was held almost at its close the annual meeting of the All India Muslim League under the presidency of Sir Abdul Rahim. In his address, he repudiated the idea that Indian Muslims lacked in partriotism, because their religion spurred them to co-operate with their co-religionist outside India ; that, unlike the Hindus, they absolutely refrained from joining anti-British conspiracies in foreign countries with the object of inflicting disaster upon India. Exposing its suicidal proclivities he blew Non-Co-operation to the winds and inculcated upon the Assembly the noble lesson taught by the stern realities of history that the presence of the Englishman in India was necessary for her safety, progress and welfare.

Now, following the progress of the Reform, the Delhi Session of 1926 presents a very attractive picture both in importance and utility. Its first and most interesting feature was the announcement of His Excellency Lord Reading that, by the decision of His Majesty's Government, a Royal Commission would be appointed whose sitting would take place about the end of the year, "to examine and report on the present condition of Agriculture and rural economy in British India and to make recommendation for the improvement of Agriculture and the promotion of the welfare and prosperity of the rural population, and, in particular (*a*) to investigate the measures now being taken for the promotion of Agriculture and Veterinary Research experiment, demonstration and education, (*b*) for the compilation of agricultural statistics, for the introduction of new or better crops and improvement in agricultural practice, dairy farming and breeding of stock, (*c*) the method by which agricultural operations are financed and credit afforded to agriculturists and (*d*) the main factor affecting rural prosperity and to make recommendations." Having thus far treated the progress of the constitution let us go to the consideration of India's self-defence, the Army and the Navy.

For long years the Congress was agitating for the 'repeal of the Arms Act and recorded their condemnation of Government for disarming the people of India and leaving them absolutely self-defenceless. Beyond that they never went. But now that, during recent years, the idea has got into the minds of the educated classes of India's place as an integral part of the great Commonwealth of the British Empire, they have steadily and seriously become morally convinced of the necessity that she must incur her own military responsibilities, and that, like Canada and Australia, she must contribute and be trained for self-defence. And as a consequence of Indian agitation in the Legislature there have been notable developments towards the Indianisation of the Army. There are Indian Officers in the Viceroy's Commission and the King's Commission. There has been instituted the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. The opening of a college of greater importance known as the Indian Sandhurst is in contemplation. Provisions have also been made for the eventual complete

Indianisation of the units of the Indian army. To give practical effects to this all-important factor of nation-building, a Commission under the presidency of Lieutenant General Sir Andrew Skeen, Chief of the General staff of the Indian Army was instituted in 1926. And from the Report of the Committee which was published in April 1927 simulteneously in Delhi and London, it is evident that, by the practical working out of the scheme for the Indianisation of the Army, it is possible to realise the hitherto unattempted achievement in the most responsible of all branches of administration. It is stated that it takes 27 years to make a commanding officer in the Army. On that computation, it is assured by the official guarantee of the Report that by the year 1852, half of the Indian Army will be controlled purely by Indians with British capacity.

Since then, there have been discussions in the Assembly calling upon Government to expedite the Indianisation of the Army. From the Indian Army, let us turn to the equally absorbing subject of the Indian Navy. I cannot do better than quote the significant pronouncement of His Excellency Lord Reading in his inaugural address at the Council of State in February 1925. " A departmental committee on the re-organisation of the Royal Indian Marine was convened at Delhi in February 1925 with the concurrence of the Secretary of State for India and the Admiralty. The task of the Committee was to draw up a scheme for the purpose of putting into effect a policy in the following formulae:—The reconstruction of the Royal Indian Marine as a combatant force, to enable India to enter upon the first stage of her own naval development, and ultimately to undertake her own naval defence. Here are a few extracts from the Reports of the Committee presided over by the late General Lord Rawlinson, Commander-in-Chief in India. "By far, the most important aspect of the new force in its early stages will be its duty as a training squadron. The new personnel will need to be thoroughly trained in gunnery, mine-sweeping, harbour, defence and seamanship....The new service should also be responsible for Marine transport at present carried out by the Royal Indian Marine. The cost of storage and maintenance in this connection will be a charge against the Indian Navy. The functions of the Indian Navy in peace time will, therefore, be as follows: (*a*) the training of personnel for service in war; (*b*) the services required by the Indian Government in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf; (*c*) the organisation of the Naval Defences at Ports under the control of the Indian Government. (*d*) Survey work in the Indian Ocean. (*e*) Marine transport work for the Government of India. We recommend that in accordance with its new functions, the service would be known as the Royal Indian Navy and should fly the White Ensign which is the recognised flag of the Naval fighting forces of the Empire." Lord Reading after briefly sketching the report of the Committee concluded his announcement by saying, "I need not emphasise to the Honorable Members of this Chamber the significance of this decision. It embodies an important principle. Thinking men in India have long desired the creation of Indian Navy for India capable of defending her coasts, her harbour and her commerce. That laudable ambition will now have its scope. Let me dwell for a moment upon two features in the announcement. To the imagination of those who understand the traditions of the British Empire, the privilege granted to the Indian Navy of the future to fly the White Ensign should appeal with special significance. India, by this, is directly admitted at the outset of her Naval career to share in the record of the centuries of proud and gallant traditions for which that Ensign stands. To Indians, a new and honorable career of national service has been opened. The recommendation of Lord Rawlinson's Committees has been accepted that Indians desiring to qualify for Commissions in the Indian Navy should receive special facilities for suitable education in earlier years and later for technical training in the Naval profession. I look to those who elect to set out on this career to use every effort to fit themselves for their task to foster an *espirit de corps* and to found here in India those traditions of high efficiency and courage which the pages of history commemorate as the proud possession of the Navy of Great Britain." Bombay is now the scene of the practical working of this magnificent scheme of Indian Marine, adumbrated with so much zeal and enthusiasm by Lord Reading two years ago.

Let us now consider what the Government have done for the Indianisation of another important field of administration. As an outcome of ceaseless agitations of educated classes for Indianisation of Public services, the Government of India in the year 1922 had to consult provincial Governments on the advisability of drastic or entire cut of European recruitment. Such a pressure on the part of the Government naturally evoked a storm of protest from the British people both here and in England. But, any way, after discussions on the subject between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, a Royal Commission under Lord Lee was appointed in June 1923 to examine into the general condition of the superior Civil services and report on the feasibility of increased Indianisation of those services. This Report was published in May 1924. Its recommendation mainly comprised the transferred subjects of education, agriculture, veterinary, forest and engineering. Here are a few important extracts from the Report. "Indian Civil Service : A proportion of 50 per cent European and 50 per cent Indians in the cadre should be attained within about 15 years from the time that the rate of recruitment recommended comes into force. The Police service : Out of every 100 recruits, 50 should be Europeans directly recruited, 30 should be Indians recruited and 20 should be Indians obtained by promotion from the Provincial services. Indian Forest Service : Recruitment should be in the ratio of 75 per cent Indians and 25 per cent Europeans in those provinces in which Forest administration is reserved. Indian Service of Engineering : Recruitment for that portion of the cadre working in the Building and Roads Branch should be in the ratio of 40 per cent Europeans and 40 per cent directly recruited Indians and 20 per cent Indians promoted from the Provincial services. Central Services : Political Department 25 per cent of the number of offices recruited annually should be Indians who should be obtained as at present from the Indian Civil Services—

the Provincial Civil Service, and the Indian Army. Imperial Customs Service: Recruitment should remain on the present basis, *i.e.*, not less than half the vacancies are to be filled by appointment in India of Statutory natives of India. Superior Telegraphic and wireless branch: Recruitment should be 25 per cent in England and 75 per cent in India; State Railways: Superior Revenue establishment: The extension of the existing training facilities in India for these services should be pushed forward in order that recruitment in India may be advanced as soon as practicable up to 75 per cent of the number of vacancies in the Railway Departments as a whole; the remaining 25 per cent being recruited in England." This gives indeed an earnest picture of the working of the Constitution towards satisfying the most insistent and paramount of Indian aspirations.

Through the progress of the Constitution let us now drop into the present. For some time, the heart of educated India, as we have seen, was being stirred to its inmost depths by a demand for the early revision of the Act. Knight—like it tilted in the Councils and in the Congress and on every political platform; raged in the press; dashed furiously against Lord Birkenhead's utterance in the Lords in August 1925 when he made his inaugural address on the Reform and said touching the Preamble of the Act, "We shall not be diverted from its high obligations by the tactics of restless impatience. The door of acceleration is not opened to menace; still less will it be stormed by violence." Surely it would not brook to hang on in the back ground as an advisory body, but would prance into the Commission.

This is composed of seven members: Sir John Simon (Chairman), Viscount Burnham, Lord Strathcona, Mr. Cadogan, Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, Col. Lane Fox and Major Atlee. But what a disappointment! The Indian element is studiedly kept out of the personnel of the Commission. It is not suprising then that educated India should roar against such a procedure which, according to the Prime Minister, involves "a broad question of principle". It is, in fact, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Act which says, "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples;" Evidently, in the case of the Constitution in contemplation which, in the words of Lord Birkenhead, is the greatest for many generations to come", Parliament is jealously maintaining its prerogatives and its spontaneous solicitude and magnanimity towards the Indian peoples. Looking back with a just pride upon the history of British India for the past hundred years through those stupendous reforms which have made the India of to-day, reforms accomplished under British inspiration and on British responsibility and conscious too of its position as the embodiment of the prestige, justice and genius of Imperial Britain, Parliament has sent out this Commission with its own investiture to see eye to eye what the real India is like, viewed in her intellectual, social and political light and gauge the nature and the amount of progress she has made under the operation of the Reform; and from their reports, it will be enabled, one should think, to shape her future destiny by so modifying the present Constitution which is, as yet, the unbeaten track to democracy, as it may comprehend the honour, the safety and the highest and truest interests of all classes and creeds that compose this sub-continent which is the most conservative in the world. "The Commission", said Sir John Simon, on leaving England, "does not go to India with any idea of imposing western ideas or constitutional forms from without. We go to listen, learn and faithfully report our conclusions and varying proposals made from within". This Constitutional Reform has been, though experimentally, conferred upon India with the object of composing the clashing interests and opinions and warring elements by spurring them on to attain the much-desired Swaraj by a united effort, goodwill and co-operation among themselves and with Government through a steady process of enlightenment and peace run on democratic lines. But, in the result of seven years working, it tells a different tale. And to make the position of India more difficult the Liberal Federation, the National Congress, the Hindu Mahajanasabha, the Khilafatists, a section of the Muslim League and a section also of the Non-Brahman Justice party and some other political groups have decided in their Conferences from motives of 'self-respect' to boycott the Simon Commission out and out. The craze for boycott has gone on like a heat-wave, and it is not unlikely that it will end in an apoplexy. But, on the other hand, the other sections of the Muslim League and the Justice party, the Christians and the Depressed classes in a body, and various other communities and professions and political parties of moderate opinion have, in their Conferences held at various centres, decided on a more prudent course and declared themselves whole-heartedly in favour of co-operation with the Commission. Lord Sinha who is home on a short holiday stands as the exponent of the sober mind of political India and warns the quick-blooded sentimentalists against their disastrous policy of boycott. And in his message to Sir John Simon on Board S.S. *Mooltan*, says, "Allow me to welcome you and your colleagues. The economic evils incapable of rapid remedy combined with natural sensitiveness and avoidable misunderstandings to provoke hostile demonstrations from certain classes which, I feel certain, you will appraise at their proper value. Time and experience are necessary to dispel the passing clouds. In the meantime, be rest assured of co-operation of all India in your enquiries which, God willing, will result in increased goodwill between our respective countries." And the following news throws light upon the situation. Dated, New Delhi, February 9th " Replying to hundreds of telegrams and letters conveying welcome and promising co-operation, that awaited the Statutory Commission on their arrival in India, Sir John Simon has sent the following reply to senders whose addresses were given or are known :—' The telegram in which you expressed your pleasure at arrival of the Chairman and Members of the Statutory Commission formed one of several hundreds which greeted them on their arrival in India. This great volume of friendly and encouraging messages has given much satisfaction to Sir John Simon and his colleagues at the outset of their task and I am asked to convey to you their personal thanks for your part in this chorus of good will.'—Senders of message include Presidents of Corporation including those of Madras, Cawnpore, Ferozepur, Ootacamund, Bijapur, and Cocanada. Among political and commercial associations which welcomed the Commission are Orissa Liberal League, Madras Peoples' Party, Independent Constitutional League, Madras South Indian Liberal Federation, The Sanatam Dharma, the Punjab Sondagar Conference, Anti-Boycott Society of Bombay, Punjab Moslem League, Anglo-Indian Association, European Association, All India Christian Conference, the Bengal Landholders, Punjab Chiefs' Association, the Depressed classes, the Adi-Dravidians, the Moslem Federation, Bombay, Calcutta Marwari Association, Namasudras of Bengal, Kshatria Conference Madras. Telegrams received by the Commission from Moslem Associations and meetings numbered well over one hundred, and those from Depressed classes were also numerous."

To clarify the tense atmosphere created everywhere by political leaders who seem to take delight in misinterpreting and misunderstanding the actual case and broach their prejudiced mind upon their eager followers, Sir Simon has sent on Feb. 7th, 1928, a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, which has been widely published and from which we cull two paragraphs:—

"We understand that the Government of India and the Local Governments have been engaged for some time past in preparing the material which they might put before the Commission. We have not seen these documents, and do not know how far they may consist of matters of fact, and how far of matters of opinion, or whether they deal with past events or with suggestions for the future. But whatever they are, instead of dealing with them by ourselves, we wish to propose that they and the evidence given in explanation or amplification of them should come before a joint free conference over which I should preside, consisting of the seven British Commissioners and a corresponding body of representatives chosen by the Indian Legislatures just as we ourselves have been chosen by the British Parliament. We put forward the plan of a joint free conference not only because we should welcome the assistance of colleagues from the Indian Legislatures, but because we think it is only right and fair, and in the truest interests of India and Britian alike, that opportunity should be provided for such memoranda and testimony to be scrutinised, and, if necessary, elucidated from the Indian side on free and equal terms. We suggest therefore that the two Houses of the Central Legislature should in due course be invited to choose from their non-official members a joint committee which might conveniently be seven in number, and that each Local Legislative Council should be asked to constitute a similar body. The Indian side of the conference would consist when central subjects are being dealt with of those first named. In a province, the Indian wing would primarily consist of the provincial members, but in order that the Central Joint Committee may not have a partial view of the material put before it, we should be glad if arrangement could be arrived at which would enable its members or some of them to be present as an additional element at the provincial sittings.

" As regards the report, it is, I feel necessary to restate the true function of the Commission and its place in the general scheme which you announced last November. The Commission is in no sense an instrument either of the Government of India or of the British Government, but enters on the duty laid upon it by the King-Emperor as a completely independent and unfettered body composed of members of Parliament who approach the Indian Legislatures as colleagues. It is not an executive or legislating body authorised to pronounce decisions about the future Government of India. Before these decisions can be reached, the full process of which the present investigation is a first step, must be completed including the affording of opportunity for the views of the Indian Legislature, amongst other bodies, of being presented by delegations in London to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The present Commission is only authorised to report and make recommendations; and in this report we desire to include a faithful account of the opinions and aspirations prevalent in India, and of the concrete proposals for constitutional reform so far as these are put before us. The British Commissioners therefore are bound to be solely responsible for the statement of the effect upon their own minds of the investigation as a whole. We shall report to the authority by which we have been constituted, just as (if the Conference is set up) the Joint Committee would, we presume, be entitled to report its conclusions to the Central Legislature. It is obvious that those documents should be prepared and presented simultaneously. There are well-known constitutional means by which the document emanating from the Joint Committee and presented to the Central Legislature can be forwarded to and made available for the British Parliament ; but if the Indian Joint Committee would prefer it, we would make its report an annexe to our own document, so that both might be presented to the King-Emperor and made public at the same moment."

In response to Sir Simon's gracious proposals and invitation to Indian leaders in the Councils, those of the Congress party in conjunction with some of the Nationalist and Independent leaders have published their unanimous decision to adhere to the Congress resolution of a thorough boycott of the Commission. And Why ? Because, they say India's self-respect is assailed by the constitution of the Commission which is bare of Indian representation. It is possible to spot offence where there is none. And I do not quarrel over their right to assert India's self-respect. But I would ask, do we practise that self-respect among ourselves? Is there a land on this God's earth where self-respect is so invididuously assailed and self-humiliation imposed with such infernal rigidity as India? If the exclusion of a few Indian politicians from the Commission at which they seem to feel personally piqued constitutes national indignity, what about the 14 million Brahmans spurning the 215 million Hindus as too mean and degrading to associate or eat or drink with him ? What about the relentless persecution with which the high caste celestials chase the 60 millions of their countrymen till they flee away and take breath and shelter in the very gutter of social infacy ? What about the vaunting Swarajists swearing by word and deed eternal hatred against the Reform Constitution and the Government, and when opportunity offers itself, accepting lucrative posts under the self-same Government and working the Constitution as their humble and obedient servants? What about the Industrial National Congress, organised to promote indigenous industry and thereby inflict a death-blow to foreign competition, exhibiting along with the country's products British and other Western machines and manufactures as a very lucrative concern? What about the patriotic Indian newspapers ceaselessly and vehemently damning British Capitalism and, at the same time, devoting most of their pages to the advertisements of British goods to fatten that very capitalism? What about our Indian press, engaged in painting the flag of national independence, which recently kept up day and night a perfect howl of protest against the little incident at Edinburgh where some Indian students were disallowed into some dance-halls and restaurants, hardly making mention of and much less raging against the fact that, in this caste-bound India and in this very Madras, there are hotels and restaurants innumerable, run by caste Hindus, whose doors are shut against Christians, Depressed classes and Non-Hindus; and where admitted, a separate place, a place of indignity and insult is shown to them? What about our great national heroes who appear so very proud with the Khaddar on in speech-making and applause—earning places, and when they get to their duties, it is all Manchester, top to bottom? What about the torrents of indignation poured upon Dominion Governments for their step-mother treatment of our fellow-countrymen who have settled there. To fight their cause is a sacred duty, no doubt. But, if the same people most of whom are of lower orders, came back to India, their native land, would the educated high castes who pretend to feel so much sympathy for the colonial settlers, receive them with any show tolerance or consideration? Would they allow them, at all, into their temples or even to walk in their streets? Do these achivements constitute our national glory? In very truth, our great leaders and patriots, with the highest of motives, are merely attempting to put up a mole of national dignity upon a mountain of national indignity and hypocrisy.

But whatever the impatient sentimentalists are out for, we, loyal people, neither believe in the suicidal pranks of boycott nor do we press for a different Constitution. The world's greatest moralist Aesop says it is not wise to do so. " When Athens was flourishing under just laws, liberty grown wanton embroiled the city, and license relaxed the reins of ancient discipline. Upon this the partisans of factions conspiring, Pisistratus the Tyrant seized the citadel. When the Athenians were lamenting their sad servitude (not that he was cruel but because every burden is grievous to those who are unused to it) and began to complain, Aesop related a fable to the following effect: The frogs roaming at large in their marshy fens, with loud clamour, demanded of Jupiter a King who, by his authority, might check their dissolute manners. The Father of the gods smiled and gave them a little log which, on being thrown among them startled the timorous race by the noise and sudden commotion in the bog. When it had lain for sometime immersed in the mud, one of them by chance silently lifted his head above the water and having taken a peep at the King, called up all the rest. Having got the better of their fears, vying with each other, they swim towards him and the insolent mob leap upon the log. After defiling it with every kind of insult they sent to Jubiter requesting another King, because the one that had been given them was useless. Upon this he sent them a Water Snake, who, with his sharp teeth, began to gobble them up one after another. Helpless, they strive in vain to escape death ; terror deprives them of voice. By stealth, therefore, they send through Mercury a request to Jupiter to succour them in their distress.' Then said the God in reply : " Since you would not be content with your good fortune continue to endure your bad fortune." (From Terens and Phoedrus). In the same vein, I may be permitted to say that the Montagu Chelmsford Reform is a log that has been given to India in response to a ceaseless roar set up by the frogs of the Congress and other marshy pools. At first, they shut their eyes against it, then they looked at with fear and suspicion and would not go near it. But later, the bull frogs took counsel together and decided to do away with the log, little knowing that the log had life which could not be killed out by their amphibious tactics. So some of them frolicked and jumped on it and disfigured it. And some again like the mundooks of Madras, croaked and climbed on it in enormous numbers to sink it in the pond, but the log threw them all out ; it is still there with a life of its own. The fear of it is that, if they kept up their wanton game, the enraged Jupiter of the India Office might give them a water-snake. But neither they nor we poor little things crawling in the marsh want a water snake. As it is, we froglings clustering by the million round the edges of the pond are molested, torn and eaten up by land snakes, and are unable, in our trivial existence, to sqeak out our grievances to higher powers. Wo don't want the log to roar up in mighty bubbles in midmarsh. What we do want is that, protected from being played and jumped upon by unruly frogs and revived into greater activity and usefulness it may move on and get round the edges so that we, poor tiny dumb froglings living by the water's edge, may grow up into full sized, healthy frogs and venturing into the pond, not only escape the land-snakes but get near the log and live safely and happily under its spell.

CHAPTER V.

DIVIDED INDIA.

The most melancholy aspect of our country, that which is a thorn in the path of national progress at the present day, is the unhappy tension between the Hindus and Mahomedans. What in other countries may pass off for a thing of little concern becomes here the bone of a terrific contention. It is the killing of a cow, a religious procession, or the beating of a drum near a temple or a mosque, a wrangle in the street between an unknown Hindu and a Mussalman, or a press attack, these serve as powerful causes of strife and swell to political significance. Between the years 1921-27, there have been hundreds of riots between these two communities, in some places with heavy loss of life and property and much bloodshed. The chief scenes of the communal disturbances are Bombay, Giridih, Assam, Madras, Aligarh, Calcutta, Dadar, Allahabad, Kohat, Paniput, Ahmedabad, Nizam's Dominions, Rawalpindi, Sholapur, Lahore, Dehra Dun, Nasvari, and Nagpur.

No amount of meetings for devising methods of peace, no amount of energy put forth by the leaders of both sides have had any appreciable effect upon the riot-loving crowds. Li[illegible]re-engines kept in readiness night and day in large cities, are posted, mounted and reserve-police in inflammable places to fly to riotous scenes and quell them sharp. And so the hand of a much-maligned "alien" rule is stretched out and continually between the sons of the same soil to prevent them from slaughtering one another. Speaking at Simla on August 29th last before the Joint Legislatures, His Excellency Lord Irwin said concerning communal tension: "Let me recall the salient incidents of India's recent history. I am not exaggerating when I say that during the 17 months that I have been in India, the whole landscape has been overshadowed by the lowering clouds of communal tension which have repeatedly discharged their thunderbolts, spreading far throughout the land devastating havoc. From April to July last year, Calcutta seemed to be under the mastery of some evil spirit which so gripped the minds of men that, in their insanity they held themselves absolved from the most sacred restraints of human conduct. The sanest citizens went abroad in peril of their lives from fanatical attack and the paralysis that overtook commercial life of a great metropolis like Calcutta was only less serious than the civic loss that followed from naked and unashamed violation of the law which perforce had to be re-asserted by methods drastic and severe. Since then we have seen the same sinister influences at work in Patna, Rawalpindi, Lahore and many other places and have been forced to look upon that abyss of unchained human passions, that lies too often beneath the surface of of habit and of law. In less than 18 months so far as numbers are available, the toll taken by this bloody strife has been between 200 and 300 killed and over 2,500 injured. While angry tempers are not always sensible of the tragedy that lies behind the figures such as these, the appreciation of it is lulled in the poisoned atmosphere which, for the time prevails, suggesting that such things are inseparable from the defence of principles jealously reversed and tempting men to forget how frequently in history the attempt has been made to cloak such crimes against society in honorable guise." And so, to find a remedy for this disease of incessant slaughter and blood-shed, His Excellency organised a Unity Conference to meet at Simla in the month of September which included as helpers and participaters of the great act of reconciliation between the two communities the grandest and noblest heads and hearts of India, both Hindu and Muslim. This Conference disclosed the gravity of the situation. But owing to the greater aggressiveness of the Hindus and the sterner provocativeness of Mahomedans, the Conference which was the cynosure of all India broke up in disappointment and failed to save India from the disgraces that characterise her saguinary records of the past six years.

If, on the score of democracy hurriedly exploited unto Swaraj, the Reform is in its practical working, as has been too truly the case, turned into a weapon on communal basis, in the hands of Hindus and Muhomedans to break one another's heads, the sooner it is revised the better. All that is stringently needed for the welfare of all India, all that comes pressing down upon the conviction of every intelligent and patriotic Indian is, in its revision, the Act is so transformed that, besides setting aside all causes calculated to arouse the hereditary piquancy and animosity between these two races, it will put them on a platform where they could meet as friends, an administrative feat indeed which, by prudent forbearance and co-operation among themselves, will happily lead them and, by the their good example, the minorities as well, to Dharmaraj as an indispensable prelude to Swaraj, its other features being interdining and, if possible, intermarriage between different castes, the complete removal of the accursed 'untouchability' and the absolute forbearance in the faith and practice of religious worship. Without this pioneer rule of righteousness Swaraj will be more a curse than a blessing. Home rule for 3 millions will be Doom rule for 300 millions. India needs peace before politics.

And where is the necessity for such break-neck speed in its attainment? Given an equal condition and opportunity as an intellectual race and inheritors of an ancient culture and civilisation of no mean order, any other nation under a Rule such as we have would have benefited infinitely more than ourselves: The British rule is a great eye-opener. Purging India of so many of her ways and habits which were of a criminal nature, it has given her internal peace and protection from foreign invasions; it has invested her with the blessings of a liberal education; by the light of that education and by its own moral force it has sufficiently enabled her to see for herself the suicidal tendencies and the rottenness of her social system; the path she must pursue to achieve her political salvation; the causes that retard her progress in the path and her inevitable plight if abandoned, by some cause or other, by the powerful arm of Britain.

How then have we benefited ourselves? For a century we were, as we always had been, isolated and sunk in our old lifeless ways. We were unable to feel the pulse of a common nationality. The introduction of the English language as a medium of instruction in public schools and colleges and as the *lingua franca* of India has created and taught us to feel that pulse. We have no doubt started Congresses, Leagues, Sabhas, Social Reforms, Missions for depressed classes and clubs innumerable Though most commendable are these, still, what is the measure of their achievements for the past half a century or more in camparison with what India is in her population, wealth, intellect and capacity? Not anything we can feel proud of. We have not yet got out of the rut of antiquated ways and notions; we have not spurned the demon of caste and other social evils which are daily and hourly sinking us into deeper depths of social indignity and shame. We have not learnt to copy the good things of the west, and what is worse, where we have copied them, we do not always display the nobility of mind by owning it. We deliberately shut our eyes and ignore the bitter lessons of the past, and have not yet come to know what it is to respect the religious sentiments of our fellow beings. We have not honestly tried to undo the debasement to which against all laws of humanity Indian womanhood is consigned; we have not, calling ourselves human beings and supposed to possess human hearts, begun to feel the pangs of despair and agonies untold that crush down the despised lives of thirty million widows of whom ten millions at last are either babies or young children or young women whose stifled groans filling the land rise up to Heaven for redress and the redress is not forthcoming ; we have not relaxed to any appreciable extent in our time-honoured brutality that rejoices with unspeakable pride and glory over the fate of 60 millions of our brothers and sisters as they keep crouching in contempt and humiliation (oh, the depth of iniquity!) as untouchables, unapproachables and invisibles, begging for very existence upon this God's earth. Nor have we, apart from our inability to rise from our moral and social infirmities, proved ourselves an industrial race. We have not got rid of our old fears and made bold to take out our idle hoards from their burial places and float them on big enterprises ; with our boasted intellectual attainments we have not, for want of mutual trust and co-operation, run one big banking corporation worthy of our great country ; we have not discarded the time-worn, uneconomic, barbarous, crude and absurd methods of manufacture and kept abreast with the progress of the commercial world of to-day ; but, on the other hand, under the rusty old baton of some of our leaders who are far too patriotic to be practical, we actually take our right about and get back to the day when "Adam delved and Eve span," little dreaming that by our silly national pride and disdain to copy the up-to-date industrial improvements of Europe, we cut the ground from under our feet. Enterprising West will not be slow, and she is not, to smother India with her machine-made goods. India will be rolling on Khaddar and Europe will be gathering gold. And how about the political morale of our leaders? Do they always display that large heartedness and loftiness of principle that characterise the politicians of the West? If there is a spot on earth where human intellect asserts its pre-eminence at all costs and self predominates every other consideration, how advantageous so ever, it is our unhappy India. There are heads in England, France and Germany who could still a storm in half a second; but still, when the country's cause, when the need of the hour demands it, when self must go down before a public cause, they sink their personal capabilities, immense as they are, into nothing, and follow the lead of one in power, irrespective of his accomplishments. Consider, for instance, that great historic figure Mr. Lloyd George. During the recent war when Europe and the rest of the world were in the throes of an unparalleled catastrophe, he was the foremost among all statesmen to marshall powers to smite down Kaiser, the Goliath of the Great War, and restore peace to mankind. But when, in his post-war Parliamentary career he lost his power, he continued just the same to serve his country as a humble follower of the leader of his party Mr. Asquith now Lord Oxford whom during the crisis he had pulled down as Prime Minister and made him his satellite. There, in Europe, political opponents are still personal friends. It is why they rule the world. But, how different is the case in India! Personality is the loudest blast of the trumpet. Every talent must needs lead a crowd. Life-long friendship is cut up on political platform. Differences in public life make for social enmity which is slow to cease. Once beaten the Indian self is cut to the quick and the hero bolts from the field. It would be a wonder if he did not start a skirmish with his victor. Self-glory is the greatest of Indian gods which brooks no rival. Mountain interests of the country are sacrificed for petty personal considerations and mutual jealousy. These statements are certainly disproved by the noble bearing of many an eminent leader, but their example is generally thrown to the winds. Unless the East rolls up and meets the West somehow, somewhere, India will be India till the end of the chapter. In the face of such deformities, insurmountable obstacles and barefaced injustice that characterise the real India, it passes one's understanding how Swaraj could be hatched so quickly out in the brains of our leaders.

It may not be quite an unprofitable task to lift the veil of Swaraj and gaze upon its countenance. Of old, the all supreme Swaraj raised one privileged class to the honours of the Deity, exploited the chivalry of another for the benefit of the privileged class and flung the rest into degradation; betrayed its incapacity to combat criminal evils of a widespread and atrocious character. On the other hand, either by connivance at or indifference to its moral obligations, it let thugee, dacoity, pindarism, child-kidnapping, and a host of vandalism thrive freely through centuries of disorder upon an unprotected people. By a most unrighteous law, it literally lashed millions into servitude whose emancipation it rendered hopeless for time and eternity under the binding of religion. Divesting trades and professions of their just dignity, it consigned the whole industrial community to a status of ridicule, meanness and intellectual darkness and rendered them not only void of any spirit of enterprise but absolutely incapable of breaking away from their paralytic stroke. And now, this Swaraj with such grim visage, forgetful of its past records and without a tinge of remorse, to come out again in broad daylight and demand the withdrawal of the British Rule that it may have a free hand (God help us!) to regenerate and redeem India from all the evils she suffers under this rule is, I should think, the highest bid in political gamble.

The following extracts from "Elphinstone" regarding the Code of Manu that has governed the Indian peoples since its institution and whose spirit is still alive, throws some light upon the old Swaraj.

"A Brahmin is the chief of all created beings; the world and all in it are his; through him, indeed, other mortals enjoy life; by his imprecations he could destroy a king with his troops, elephants, horses and cars; could frame other worlds and legions of worlds and could give being to new gods and new mortals. A Brahmin is to be treated with more respect than a king. His life and person are protected by the severest laws in this world and the most tremendous denunciations for the next. He is exempt from capital punishment even for the most enormous crimes. His offences against other classes are treated with remarkable levity, while all offences against him are punished with ten-fold severity.

"The King must have a Brahmin for his most confidential counsellor and by Brahmin is he to be instructed in policy as well as in justice and learning. The whole judicial authority (except that exercised by the King in person) is in the hands of the Brahmins and although the perusal of the sacred texts is not withheld from the two nearest classes, yet the sense of them is only to be obtained through the exposition of a Brahmin. The interpretation of the laws is expressly confined to the Brahmins ; and we can perceive from the Code itself, how large a share of the work of legislation was in the hands of that order.

" The property of the sacred class is as well protected by the law as its power. Liberality to Brahmins is made incumbent on every virtuous man and is the special duty of a King. Sacrifices and oblations and all the ceremonies of religion involve feasts and presents to the Brahmins and these gifts must always be liberal. The organs of sense and action, reputation in this life, children and cattle are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling gifts to the priests. Many penances may be commuted for large fines which all go to the sacred class. If a Brahmin finds a treasure, he keeps it all ; if it is found by another person, the King takes it but must give one-half to the Brahmins. On failure of heirs, the property of others escheats to the king, but that of Brahmins is divided among their class. A learned Brahmin is exempt from all taxation and ought, if in want, to be maintained by the king. Stealing the gold of Brahmins incurs an extraordinary punishment which is to be inflicted by the king in person, and is likely, in most cases, to be capital. Their property is protected by many other denunciations ; and for injuring their cattle, a man is to suffer amputation of half his foot.

" The duty of a Sudra is briefly stated to be to serve the other classes, but it is more particularly explained in different places that his chief duty is to serve the

Brahmins ; and it is especially permitted to him in case of want of subsistence and inability to procure service from that class, to serve a Kshatria ; or if even that service cannot be obtained, to attend on an opulent Vaisya. It is a general rule that in times of distress, each of the classes may subsist by the occupation allotted to those beneath it, but must never encroach upon the employments of those above it. A Sudra has no class beneath him ; but if other employments fail, he may subsist by handicrafts, especially joinery, painting and writing.

" A Sudra may perform sacrifices with the omission of the holy texts, yet it is an offence requiring expiation for a Brahmin to assist him in sacrificing. A Brahmin must not read the Veda, even to himself in the presence of a Sudra. To teach him the law, to instruct him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks a Brahmin into the hell called Asamvrita. It is even forbidden to give him temporal advice. No offence is more repeatedly or more strongly inveighed against than that of a Brahmin receiving a gift from a Sudra ; it cannot even be expiated by penance until the gift has been restored. A Brahmin starving may take dry grain from a Sudra, but must never eat meat cooked by him. A Sudra is to be fed by the leavings of his master or by his refuse grain, and clad in his worn-out garments. He must amass no wealth, even if he has the power lest he become proud and give pain to Brahmins. If a Sudra uses abusive language to one of a superior class, his tongue is to be slit. If he sit on the same seat as a Brahmin he is to have a gash made on the part offending. If he advise him on his religious duties, hot oil is to be dropped into his mouth and ears. The proper name of a Sudra is expressive of contempt and the religious penance for killing him is the same as for killing a cat, a frog, a lizard and various other animals.''

The law of Manu prescribes special severity for "Chandalas" or "untouchables". "The abode of a chandala must be out of the town. They must not have the use of entire vessels ; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased, their dishes of food broken pots ; their ornaments rusty iron ; continually must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty, religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them ; let their transactions be confined to themselves and their marriages be only between equals. Let food be given them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver and let them not move about by night in cities and towns", The Brahmin is infected by the outcast not by touch alone but by his approach and even by sight. And so this law of abomination which is impatient of being unmuzzled by the speediest attainment of Swaraj, prescribes a distance of thirty yards within which the pollution operates. There is no use saying it is all changed now ; It is not ; you have only to go to rural parts which form nine-tenths of India, and there is the picture on view, though slightly fading. The spirit indeed is willing, but the times are unsuited. If the British rule has done nothing else, it has, at least, made India bury her face in her hands and not look back upon the shame and horror of the past. Take that flag away, and where are the lower orders and the depressed classes? Down in the drain again. Does it need telling at all? Talk of communal representation on the Councils? Communalism has only added to the strength of racial acerbity: Whatever the constitution, unless a nation sensible of its defects is aroused to its moral obligations and bravely and honestly acts up to them, that nation is doomed. And so long as the Brahman, by virtue of his birth, holds the reins of sacredotalism and so long as Hinduism is in his hands, and it cannot be otherwise, he is at the top of everything and he would never budge an inch from his place nor would he suffer the rest to rise from their depths. Therefore, unless the Non-Brahman races, spurred on by an irresistible moral force acting on them independently of the nation-killing orthodoxy, and conscious of the nature of their surroundings and the signs of the times, shake off all the funny notions and superstitions outside the pale of absolute religion that bind them down, and rise up before the world, healthy, vigorous and sensible, India's future is not assured. And so Swaraj, Swanky Raj, you must honestly put away your butterfly cloak of state-craft, give up much of your rhetorical flourishes and rhodomontade blizzards on the Congress platform, put on, if you can, in right earnest, the humble but sacred vestments of fellow feeling, get down to the slums, the living history of your by-gone rule which gloried in injustice and exulted over the groans of a people in chains; reclaim them all and make them the corner-stone of your political aspirations before you can pose for what you are not.

And what is the inherent force that puts the collective agitations of educated classes through a steady development of a widespread general and political education to the attainment of Swaraj upon wings of impatience? It is the Brahman spirit, which manifests itself wherever this craze is on. And now a section of the Non-Brahmans of South India, who have so long stood as a body opposed to Congress policy as visionary, unconstitutional and untenable, and have retained a separate identity, have entered it.

It was during the Great War when the Brahmans of Madras headed by Mrs. Besant were agitating for Home Rule that the Non-Brahman classes, becoming conscious of the ill-treatment they suffered at their hands for hundreds of years, their unmitigable selfishness and monopolisation of every walk of life, mustered strong at the call of their great leader, the late Dr. T. M. Nair to rouse themselves from an age-long sleep to bring out latent forces and feel the strength of nationhood. And so they banded themselves with a mighty resolve to defeat the machinations of the political Brahman, to retain a separate nationality and to fight out their own battles towards material, political and social progress. When they were in process of crystallisation, the British Parliament staggered India with the endowment of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which brought them for the first time in their history into the actual field of politics. They scoured the country for seats in the Legislative Council and having obtained them munificently, rendered pioneer service to the satisfaction of the country for five years during the first experimental and therefore the most difficult period of the working of the new Constitution. They stood firm constitutionalists right through; as friends of Government and of the people. But the last election threw them out of power. And this defeat, their first and only one, of course, instead of pulling them up for greater reslove and more vigorous action intensifying the importance of their separate identity in race, policy and principle, like those historic parties in Parliament, the Liberals and the Conservatives who have for centuries so proudly retained their distinct individuality through severest political storms, storms that howled over the Universe and smashed many an empire, seems to have had such a discomfiting effect upon them that, not satisfied with attempting to pull down the present Independent Ministry which has superseded them in carrying on the work they started in a line almost parallel to theirs, they decided, a good number of them, at their big meeting at Coimbatore in July 1927 to join a political association which, by their own reiterated confession, run counter to their ideals and aspirations as Non-Brahmans. Therefore their entry into the Congress though, as was alleged, with the idea of reforming its impossible propaganda, not only created a serious division in their party and deprived the association of the services of some of the most valued and trusted leaders who are averse to the decision; but, ten to one, it was feared they might alight on the quicksands of the extremist Congress creed and be lost to the noble traditions of their race and to the well-being of the country And so it proved.

Why impatience? Has not Non-Co-operation taught us the lesson of impatience, the sad lesson of running a race horse to death? If Swaraj is not meant to be an Indian oligarchy—the accursed old despotism, but Government by and for the people as meant by the Reform, it must fulfil the conditions essential to a genuine democracy. Speaking in Calcutta in October 1917, the late Mr. C. R. Das said, "When I ask for Home Rule, for self-government, I am not asking for another bureaucracy, another oligarchy in the place of the bureaucracy that there is at present. In my opinion, bureaucracy is bureaucracy, be that bureaucracy of Englishmen or of Anglo-Indians or Indians. We want no bureaucracy, we want Home Rule, we want self-government by the people and for the people. We want self-government in which every individual of this country, be he the poorest ryot or the richest *Zamindar* will have his legitimate share. Every individual must have some voice. We want Home Rule broad-based on the will of the people of India. Now, gentelmen, this is our objective". The deep significance that attaches to the speech of the remarkable leader of Indian thought precludes the idea of rushing Swaraj through reckless haste of reforms, the unaltered social status and above all the overwhelming illiteracy of the country. For how one earth can every man in India have some voice, some legitimate share in the Swaraj unless he has some idea of politics, its constitution, an intelligent consciousness of his position in the State and a sense of responsibility that attaches to his electoral duties? And how can he get at those ideas except by the enlightenment of Education? As it is, politically, and I say this with sorrow, 99 per cent of the Indian people in the blandness of mind cannot tell a bee from a bull's foot. If democracy is to be a real thing in India, the education of the masses comes in first : " I can assure you " says the same leader, " if some kind of self-government is granted to us in the near future, within the next twenty years there will not be one single illiterate man in this country." Well now, a Constitution believed to be about the best for the time being, is placed in our hands to work it up to the realisation of Swaraj. If that Constitution is unsatisfactory, have it reformed until, under its ægis, the great bulk of the people who now form an absolutely negligible quantity in politics, may, by the diffusion of education, be so charged with political knowledge as to be able to voice forth their sentiments and their claims also in the commonwealth of India called Swaraj. Else it will be the dreaded old autocracy, at the best a democracy by proxy which is nothing else but a gigantic farce of history which no sensible Government would countenance. In the state India is actually placed in, it would be a most dangerous game to hoist the flag of Swaraj so that, under its shadow, the intellectual, political and social salvation of the people may be wrought. The past, with its unenviable records, is the best guarantee for the future. Before the British Rule it was all Swaraj ; and what did it do for the people ? Their appalling state of poverty, illiteracy, misery, social and moral degenaration, and political nothingness are all the work of that rule. The forces of that rule are dormant but not dead. Therefore to say Swaraj first and then the salvation of the masses is just putting the carriage before the horse.

"We serve by ruling" is the noble utterance that emanates from every true-blooded Englishman in his connection with India. His rule in this country, viewed in its achievements of the past one hundred years, is but a means to an end, which is not only the consummation of the political unification and independence of India, but what can be more glorious and what more chivalrous? the moral resurrection of the great mass of people from a doom which has held them for centuries under the domination of a social system, the most servile, the most degrading and the most loathsome in the world. Britain's supreme mission in India is not so much to enable her by the endowment of grand constitutions to become a partner in the great Commonwealth of the British Empire and take her place in the League of Nations, as, true to the traditions of her flag, to bring about the emancipation and redemption of a fallen humanity, which shall indeed be an act worthy of her as the greatest nation on Earth. For, what glory will it be to her and what use for India either to parade in Council Chambers in the purple robe of political greatness whilst the groans of 120 millions of her children chained down in an impregnable misery are pitched higher than her vaunting political blast?

By thus exposing the futility of the Extremists' impatience in the attainment of Swaraj, let me not be construed into belittling our great leaders. To question their sincerity and their unassailable position is temerity. I do not deny their gallantry and expression of their righteous indignation against bureaucratic injustice whenever it jets out, and how far such expressions have gone forth to check the unbridled display of power of the thoughtless stuff of the ruling class, the inhuman behaviour of these at times towards poor helpless Indians, their selfish propensities, the demonstration of their racial superiority in their contact with Indians, and their chances of abusing their position in the country. They have their weaknesses, their sporadic eccentricities and a proud, silent contempt for many of our ways. Those leaders have not been windfalls ; they are heavensends for India's well-being and self-respect. In the past they came out, not with antiquated notions and impossible programmes, not at all imbued with the impracticable nonsense of extremism, but with a large heart that could feel all in all with a lofty mind that could discern the true difficulties and wants of our country, and devise practical measures to overcome them and elevate her to her glorious political status by a reasonable advance of time and not by imprudent haste. Time, whatever might perish under its blighting hand, will but serve to cherish and perpetuate their memories and their works in our grateful hearts. They have passed away, but their spirit remains in their worthy followers who continue their great work. I do not deny their chivalrous patriotism, their disinterested aims, the noble sacrifices they make of their time, talent, wealth and everything at their command ; the effusions from their pen and their dogged perseverance in their struggle for our country's cause in the teeth of overwhelming disappointments and cold responses to their calls. But I denounce foul play. I denounce the moral cowardice of playing upon the ignorance and the gullibility of peace-loving hero-worshiping, illiterate masses, inciting them to lawlessness and violence and, after putting them under the last resort of fire-arms, sneaking away from the scene. I denounce the art, the unfathomable dodge by which political selfishness seeks to attain its ends under the guise of spotless patriotism. I denounce the vanity of those who could boast for their credentials nothing but the atrocious "untouchability,' the caste with all the humiliations it stands for, a host of intolerable social evils and similar achievements of old, to challenge the right of a nation which, foreign though it be and therefore all the more creditable, has purged India of so many practices of a criminal nature, blessed her with the solid peace of a century and, by a series of reforms, elevated her to her moral and political status of to-day, to mould the destiny of her races. I denounce the hazardous game that is being played of putting up a mighty political structure on a foundation, laid of social and religious conditions, which crumbles at a touch.

Great though be our esteem for our leaders in general, it is nevertheless true that it is sickening to death how some of them in their hatred against everything western, carry their professions of patriotism to ridicule and silliness. With feelings of a penitent they say they are very sorry to be obliged to address the people in the foreign language of English, and that factories, machines, motor cars, railways, telegraphs, and such things are western and therefore unsuited and harmful to the country which, according to their fancy, must be rehabilitated to its ancient simplicity, purity and righteousness of rule by a stern rejection of all these things.

But viewing those leaders in their practical application of what they hold forth as India's purification into the grandeur of ancient simplicity, what do we find? We find that, of all others, these are the best patrons of the English and every thing English which may be taken as typical of the West. It is these leaders that most freely and frequently use railways, telegraphs, post offices, wirelesses, telephones and motor cars for travels, comfort and political propaganda. The ink, the steel and fountain pens, the paper, the pad, letter-paper and envelops, the type-writers and printing press which they use for writing or publishing condemnations of the English and of things English are all English. The very glasses they wear while writing that English things should not be touched are English. The wide propaganda that is being carried on against the use of English cloth and English goods as well as the harrangues, vituperations and verbosities indulged in for boycotting the English and everything English owe their virility nay their very possibility to means, methods and a language which are all English. They have given up the old oil-lamps in earthen or brass cups and are using English made candle-power lamps or fit up their homes with electric lights and fans. When taken ill, they cannot stick an Indian physician, but eagerly send for doctors who are either English or Indians with English qualifications, and, for cases of operation, they place themselves implicitly in the hands of English surgeons who use instruments upon them which are all English made. They run business offices in a style and on a principle which are faithful copies of the hated English. The Congress, the Hindu Maha-Saba, the Servants of India Society and other political and social bodies of which they are members, owe their inception, constitution and conduct to the inspiration of a rule which is English; discarding their vernacular they hold their conversation throughout in English; they think in English, they speak in English, they act in English. And, though admittedly most patriotic in theory, it is hopelessly beyond the reach of practical success to attempt to make Hindi or any other vernacular the *lingua franca* of India, except it be like English, the language of a State power that could sway the whole continent of India and her multitudinous races under the indomitable rule of its flag. And till then, if such a time comes at all, English will be most naturally the one common language of India. The pity of it all is, Japan is being pointed to as India's model; what a travesty! India, in the hands of her extreme patriots, wants at all costs to remain thoroughly Indian, Hindu, oriental; and Japan, on the other hand, is, out and out, western. She is practically a European nation on the Asian Continent: She is western in her aristocracy, in her army, navy, air-craft, police organisation, Municipal institutions and industry. The upper classes have taken to western ways and manners. Japanese is, no doubt, the state language because it is the Japanese nation; but western languages are not proscribed in higher education, and the official classes are proficients in one or other of the European languages, like English, French and German. The Japanese do not, as a rule, associate with other Asiatics. They do not seem to consider themselves as such. Japan, shorn of her westernism, dwindles down to an unknown island of the Pacific. Japan is great, because she is westernised. She is not ashamed to own her greatness to her pluck and wisdom in copying the west through every detail of her national life. Rome was not ashamed to own her intellectual greatness and refinement to Greek culture and Greek civilisation. Modern Europe is not ashamed to own her culture, refinement and civilisation and her foremost place among mankind to Greek and Roman influences and to Asia through Christianity. And what about ancient India herself? Were her arts and sciences imported direct from Heaven? Had Babylon, Assyria, Judea, and Egypt nothing to do with it? As long as the English flag is there, there will be no end of the dreams of these English-saturated, anti-English faddists to rid India of every trace of western influence, remodel her out and out and restore her to her original purity. But the moment it disappears, disruption will wash out all such craze. Is it possible to imagine that, when the whole world is shaken to its foundation by the overwhelming, scientific, restless, West India alone could afford to spurn her marvels and remain in her oirginal simplicity.? Could she exist at all? What good can India expect from such a crazy lot? And what blessing can there be upon a people who, after getting all possible benefits from a foreign nation, turn against them and, while in the very enjoyment of those blessings, belittle them all and blackguard their rule.

Infinitely worse than the perversions of a misconceived patriotism is the subterranean politics which is hatched in foreign countries in league with the sworn enemies of the British Empire and imported into this country in the form of conspiracies, bombs and shells with the object of blowing up British Raj, with no better substitute than anarchy and bloodshed in place of order and peace. If, to-morrow, the British withdraw from India, what will be her fate? Is it enough to say that she will inevitably drift back to pre-British days of anarchy and strife and that her clock will be put back one century? Hell will reign; that's all. The incessant and ferocious riots everywhere between Hindus and Mahomedans which convulse our history at the present day are flash-lights upon the political horizon of India, signalling the thunderstorm that is awaiting to burst over the country the moment the strong arm of Britain that thrusts itself like a wall of steel between bellicose races goes down. We can stretch our minds to the utmost, we can only form but a feeble picture of the volcanic waves of destruction that will sweep over India. Indian history will be born again with a vengeance. Equipped with the murderous improvements of modern warfare, those mighty races in whose bosom the instinct of chivalry remains dormant will be roused to arms. The valiant sons of the Prophet, the 70 million Mahomedans who have set their mark upon the human race from Gibraltar to Singapore and never cease to burn for the glory of the Crescent and the propagation of the Koran, the Pathans of Afghanistan to whom fighting is a past time, the fiery Rajputs, the heroic Sikhs, the warlike Mahrattas and others of the mould will rush out, sword in hand, to measure one another in pools of blood. And through the smoke and volley of artillery roaring for conquest and ascendency, and under a gloom of terror overhanging the country, would it be an idle fantacy to witness a fleet of a thousand vessels hovering on the Coramandal coast to make a clean swoop of all the Eastern lands; or a huge any rolling down the Himalayan passes plant their standard on the plains of bleeding Hindustan? And will not dacoity, thuggee, highway robbery, pindarism, suttee, infantcide, and similar crimes crawl out of their coffins and with hideous visages shake havoc and death upon a terrified people once more? Where, then, are the 320 millions lashed by an unchained terrorism to look to for protection?

Is it to Non-Co-operation? It is a remarkable body that has made its mark upon the history of the day. Like a raving giant, Non-Co operation charged with an uncontrollable spirit scoured the country with non-violence upon the lip and violence in the hand, and rendered such signal services to the people that its originator himself had to leave it in the mud and run away saying it stank in his nostrils. But in its second birth in the Councils, in the process of transmigration, it has had prolific births, such as the intransigent, rigid obstructionist, co-responsivist, co-operatist, Swarajist, office-rejector, office hunter and so on—always on the run, never knowing where to rest its feet. Could such be counted upon for a shelter in a storm? Non-Co-operation, certainly, can spin cloth on the Khaddar and politics in the Councils; but can it produce a shield for the people against an overwhelming calamity? Or, is it to the Great Indian National Congress? This, indeed, is a huge combination of the grandest intellects of the country, a mighty fabric of constitutional agitation, the hall-mark of political wisdom. With the experience of forty years, gathered from the tactics and wisdom of its veteran leaders, animated by the spirit and enthusiasm of those who founded it and, above all, sanctified by its instinct of loyalty to Crown and country, this noble institution is the glory of the country and the proudest monument of English education in India, and under wise control and prudent counsel, carries with it the unmeasured capacity to shape and guide her political destiny though, unfortunately, of recent years, owing to splits and conflicting opinions and movements in its camp, it has ceased to be the exponent of the political mind of India. No one has exposed its present condition as vividly as Sir K. V. Reddi. In his open letter addressed to the President of the Non-Brahman Confederation, on 30th June last, he says, "For 35 years, the Congress had worked vigorously. It did much of the pioneer work. It rendered yeoman service to the country and became its own victim. It was the only political body which represented people's cause and kept the bureaucracy in check. The country is undoubtedly indebted to the Congress for its past services. But to-day it is an effete body. It has outlived its usefulness. It is destitute of energy. Its present fight is a mimic fight. It is bluffing when it should be doing. Its rank and file are torn with dissensions and mutual recriminations. It is disturbed with anguishing fermentations in its own bowels. Its "yarn franchise" disclosed the bankruptcy of statesmanship amongst its leaders Their programme is a Utopia and an impossibility. Their spinning wheel can never supplant modern machinery. Their campaign against untouchability has not advanced the untouchability even an inch beyond where they were 7 years ago. In the work of total prohibition, they were no more successful. Their boycott of schools and courts has ended in dismal failure. Their boycott of councils resulted in a hankering after the forbidden fruit. It has worked a deep cleavage among the followers and caused a split among the leaders. Some of the latter have not only retraced their steps, not only entered the councils, but also accepted the much maligned offices. Others, by entering the councils, are enjoying the fruits of office without incurring its responsibilities....... Their boycott of foreign cloth has ended equally miserable as all uneconomic and thoughtless enterprises must end. Silks and lace-cloths worth some lakhs of rupees were offered as sacrifices to the god of fire and lost for ever. Their place, however, is being taken by new silk and better lace bordered cloths. The claim of the Congress as a democratic institution is not maintained......The Congress to-day is unquestionably under the influence of capitalists and monopolists. Such is the story of the present day congress." Poor old Congrees ! Or, is it to the contending factions of loyalists, co-operators, non-co-operators, quasi co-operators, responsive co-operators, opportunists, obstructionists, no-changers, all-changers, luke-warm lip Swarajists, fire brand Swarajists, constitutional Swarajists, contitutionalists, moderates, irreconcilables, independents, congressists, anti-congressists, monarchists, anarchists, communists, socialists, nationalists. die-hards, khaddarites, and other congeries who outnumber the social and political parties of the whole world put together? In their hopeless, restless prevarications, contentions, multiplications and chamelion changes in the political game, they present more the picture of a kaleidoscope in the hand of a sportive child than serious statesmanship for the regeneration and well-being of a great country. Can these possibly stretch out a finger in a moment of need? Or is it to the ruling Princes even? They are rulers capable, indeed, of great achievements. But is it possible for us to be comforted by the pious belief that the seven hundred princes, merging their weighty differences, sheathing their swords, and entering into one another's counsels, would evolve an Imperial concord and live their halcyon days in an Indian millennium? Rather, does not history, our own Indian history, press it on our minds the possibility of a Muslim or a Hindu Napoleon springing up from the fearful revolutions in which they may be embroiled, who will curb the Empire under his will and issue his decrees to his vassal lords from Delhi or Bombay, to be soon ousted by a mightier tyrant from far or near and marched off to his St. Helena? These are not fanciful pictures, but grim potentialities lurking in the future. Touch it with a wand; the genii appear!

It is futile to suppose that in the event of a mighty struggle between Hindus and Mahomedans, the latter could be counted only as 70 millions. These 70 millions will be just the fore front in the phalanx of Islam that will stretch from Assam to Morocco formed by the sons of the Phophet comprising powerful nations and rulers of Kingdoms; while the Hindus numbering 219 millions, in spite of a few chivalrous races like the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, ripped and rent into myriad shreds of social and religious differences, augmented by the discomfiting presence of 60 millions set aside as untouchables, and 70 million lower orders held in deliberate contempt and redicule and in the incapacity of 100 million Hindu women consigned to illiteracy and degradation to'give any tangible help or moral support in the cause, can put up only a poor show. Islam could always address the 70 million Mahomedans as, " Sons and daughters of the Prophet and children of one only God !" Has Hinduism any better title to address most of her adherents with than " Ye untouchable slaves !" and "victims of legalised degradation !" It is this self-inflicted national blunder that has caused a steady encroachment of Islam upon Hinduism. The great bulk of the people were spurned into an unserviceable mass. Hinduism most fatuously through excessive economic rigidity and social tyranny failed to construct them into a factor that would be a mighty defence of India against invaders. The Kshatrias would be but a tiny bit before them. It got riveted to shashtras, and consequently became far too spiritualistic to be worldly wise and has paid dearly for it.

Let Hinduism remember, Hinduism that has given over a third of her territory and a fourth of her population to Islam, that it is an alien nation that has come fifteen thousand miles to protect it from further humiliation. A steady, drastic drain through seven centuries of bloodiest strife has given Islam 70 millions. But the day that the British flag was hoisted upon the red soil of India, it stopped. Humble as I am, I challenge the stoutest champion of Hinduism to point me in the whole range of history, ancient or modern, an instance in which a religion has owed its safety, honour and preservation to a foreign power half as much as Hinduism does to British Rule. Here is a page from Indian History : I quote it not at all with any object of creating bad blood between races, (God forbid that I should), but solely to make the pulse of impatience beat less violently. It is not taken from secret archives of guarded libraries, but from a book used as a text in public schools. "Destruction of temples:—In 1669, when he (Aurangazeb) had been firmly seated on the throne for some ten years, and Raja Jai Singh was dead, he felt himself at liberty to act on his theory of Government more thoroughly than he had been able to do at first. We are informed by a credible author that, on April 18, 1669 (Zulk'ada 17, A. H. 1079) the Emperor was shocked by the receipt of report that in the provinces of Thathah, Multan and Benares, but more especially in the last-named, Brahmans dared to give public lectures on their scriptures which even attracted Muhammadan students from distant places. Such open propaganda of Hindu idolatry seemed to Aurangazeb a scandal. Accordingly, commands were issued 'to all governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels ; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practice of idolatrous forms of worship'. Five months later, the local officers reported that in accordance with the Imperial command, the temple of Bishanath at

Benares had been destroyed. After a short interval (in Ramazan of the year A. H. 1080), Aurangazeb had the satisfaction of learning that the magnificent temple of Kesavadeva at Mathura had been levelled with the ground. It was one of the noblest buildings of India, and had been erected in the reign of Jehangir by Raja Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abu-l-Fazl, at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees or £371,250. The foundation of a large and costly mosque was laid on the site....Temples were demolished wholesale with fanatical fury. For example, in May 1679, Khan Jahan Bahadur received warm praise from Aurangazeb for bringing from Jodhpur several cartloads of idols taken from temples which had been razed. The images were treated in the most insulting ways possible, 'until at last not a vestige of them was left'. During the campaign of 1679—80 enormous damage was wrought among the shrines of Rajaputana. At or near Udaipur 123, and at Chitore in the same state 63 temples were overthrown. The friendly state of Amber (Jaipur) was treated with equal severity and suffered the loss of 66 temples. Thus, in two states, no less than 252 shrines were destroyed in one year. Many other figures will be found in Sarkar's *History*. Clearly, it is no exaggeration to affirm that Aurangazeb, in the course of his long reign caused the demolition of thousands of temples, inflicting irreparable injury on the monuments of ancient civilisation and on irreplaceable works of art. The testimony of books is amply confirmed by local traditions in all parts of the country, many of which I have heard on the spot. The ruin was not confined to new or recent structures. Temples of all ages were attacked indiscriminately." (Dr. V. E. Smith's History): Does the present generation hear of a thing like this? Still, the continuous tension between the Hindus and Mahomedans at the present day keeps sounding like an echo of the thunder-blast that struck down cities and provinces to ashes. Now, is it prudence or is it madness to work the destruction of the British Rule in India, in the vain dream of rearing Swaraj upon its ashes, or even to press for its speediest attainment? Why such lightning speed? Has extremist impatience nothing to learn from this little verse of Tennyson's?:—

If twenty millions of summer
Are stored in the sunlight still
We are far from the noon of man,
There is time for the race to grow.

It is undeniable that there are great and eminent leaders amongst us who make tremenous sacrifices and devote all their talent, energy, time and wealth in the cause of national elevation, principally for the acquisition of political rights. But is there any leadership, single or combined that is commensurate with the greatness of our country or the immensity of her population.' There is a coterie here, and a coterie there with isolated leaderships which periodically meet on a common plate form to give themselves the glamour of universality. But, if there be any such mighty, responsible, genuine leadership that fits the greatness of India, its very shadow, its mere whisper would be enough to quell the sanguinary disorders that have been so incessantly and persistently disgracing our social and political relationship for the past six years, without putting the authorities into the painful task of quieting them under fire-arms. I am putting forth these harrowing facts not at all to belittle the political significance of our leaders, who are undoubtedly great in their own ambit; nor am I in the least wanting in my grave personal respects to them; but only to show the utter shallowness and the futility, not to say, the ribaldry of those who cry out to the British Rulers, "bag and baggage". If to-day they withdraw, India is doomed. She cannot stand half a minute. It is too premature to think of supplanting the British element, out and out, in every branch of administration. The British element, with its vast and solid experience of a hundred years, both in civil and military governments, is the torchlight in India's march. With the aid of that light acting directly or indirectly, the Reform is provided as a bridge of exodus for passing from one stage to another. Care must, however, be taken by those in charge of it that the bridge is not swept away by the swift current of conspiracy or Non-Co-operation. How long this great procession will take to pass, no one can tell. But, as it passes, may be the British and Indian administrators bestow their first and fullest consideration upon rhe masses who will not be left behind the bridge, give them an extended education, both intellectual and industrial and thereby enable them to enter the domain of an enlightened democracy and be actors, and not mere spectators of this great political drama that is now staged upon the theatre of India. "I am prepared" said Lord Reading, soon after his return to England from his Viceroyalty, during a debate on Indian affairs in the Lords, "to take the risk of saying that, in the end, if India will only devote herself to showing her good will, she will attain the position she desires, she will become a full partner in the British Empire, will attain responsible Government and will be able to work with the British Government and, I trust, with all the British Empire, for the happiness and contentment of her people." The attainment of responsible Government, becoming a full partner in the British Empire and working with Government and the Empire form the closing scene of the drama. And till then India has to sustain a great nerve and act her best in the histrionic transition. To change the figure, Hannibal and Napoleon would not have performed a more thrilling feat in crossing the Alps with their huge military accessaries and hoisting their flags on the plains of Lombardy than the Indian Intelligentsia if, with all possible aid and energy, they succeeded in crossing the Reform bridge with the mass millions and planting the standard of Democracy on the other side. Taking the political thermometer to gauge the temperature of democracy as it exists at present, we find that out of 247 millions resident in British India only 7 millions were on the voting register for the last election, the rest were in the shade. This gives us a percentage of 2·6; if this figure, which is far below the point of democracy, could by degrees, be raised to something like 20 or 25 per cent, that would be a good reading for India. And till then, the Reform must be on the run.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INDISPENSABILITY OF THE BRITISH RULE AND INDIA'S PLACE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Nowhere in the world of politics can be witnessed a party that is so persistent in the demonstration of its would-be capacity to spin, by the glamour of speech, reality from unreality, power from powerlessness and greatness and solidarity from decay and disunion as the Indian National Congress. Its recent performances may be taken as an illustration of its unflagging energy and courage to attempt the impossible. The gist of those performances is that the British Rule being too bad for India, it would, charged with "a grim determination to shake off the foreign yoke", throw it out, take its place and rule the country straightaway. Now, we must, with serious respect and consideration, measure this admirable Congress.

The Congress opened at Madras on 26th December 1927, and held its sessions for three days. A Muslim gentleman of tried capacity presided over its deliberations. Dr. Ansari's presidential address which was received everywhere with applause, embodies two main features, lamentation and exhortation, lamentation over the present state of the Congress which, by its mad adherence to the extremist Brahman policy, distrusted and discredited by loyalists, shunned by all moderate parties and by men of practical wisdom and experience, fallen from its high estate and warring in a fit of hatred against those who advocate caution, moderation and steady progress to suit the conditions of the people, devoured by the fire of its own impatience, bereft of its past glories, still struggling to retain a shadow of the name it once had, cut and clipped by internal factions, mutual recriminations and jealousies, is now reduced to a cripple sighing for its feet and eking out a life of hoping against hope. And so the Doctor prescribes it crutches on either side, namely, Hindu-Muslim unity and the closing of all political ranks which he exhorts to merge in this emaciated Congress. In a language which breathes the holy fervour of his heart and has the characteristics of an excellent pulpit sermon, he implores the Hindus and the Mahomedans to set aside their religious susceptibilities and, in union of hearts, to put forth their unstinted efforts to establish Swaraj which will be neither a Hindu Raj nor a Muslim Raj, but a Joint-Raj, something like Greco-Turkish Raj for Western Europe. And to bring about this Joint Raj he appeals to them to cultivate a thorough knowledge of each other's culture. Heaven bless the fond hope of the Apostolic President. But, is such an appeal of any practical value? It must be remembered that, as a rule, it is the illiterate and fanatical mobs that create and revel in communal riots. It cannot be under a century before the huge masses of India get educated; and nothing short of a high proficiency in their respective tongues would enable them to understand their own culture which is both ethical and philosophic; and, on top of this, they are required to take the trouble, foregoing much of their immediate concerns of life, of going through the academic labours and studying the culture of the other side, purely on political grounds. How long would that take? And even then, what would be the nett result? Were not the Hindu and Muslim gentlemen who assembled at the Unitary Conference at Simla well-versed in Hindu-Islamic cultures? And did they not break with their fists one against the other? And what about, for instance, Aurangazeb the Great, who is looked upon as a model Mussalman and a holy sage? For ten years after his accession to the throne, he made himself diligently acquainted with Hindu Scriptures and worship, and on the eleventh started pulling down Hindu temples by hundreds and erecting mosques instead. The unvarnished truth is that not the Hindus and the Mahomedans alone, but the other creeds and races too could never be made to keep peace among themselves save and except under the power and protection of a strong arm. It may be the arm of Britain as at present, or of Germany, or Japan or Russia or possibly Hindu or Muslim as in the days of Asoka and Akbar, but never Hindu-Muslim. To think of a Hindu-Muslim Raj, how glorious soever the idea, tantamounts to an absolute denial of the political psychology of India. The Hindu is as immutably and eternally fixed upon the cow and the Gita as the Muslim upon the cowslaughter and the Al-Koran. And the removal of the buffer-arm to establish the Joint Raj will be the signal for the world to witness a carnival of carnage. The forty-two year old baby of a Congress might say, " No " ; but the veteran history of a thousand years of blood says, " Yes".

The Doctor proceeds, " The right of the Indian National Congress to settle communal differences has been challenged in certain quarters. It has been contended that the Congress has no jurisdiction in inter-communal matters whether political or religious. I hold that no communal organisation or organisations put together can supersede the Congress or enjoy a parallel jurisdiction. The Indian National Congress is not meant for registering the decrees issued by the differen organisations. It is primarily and essentially the only organisation that can deal with such matters and hold the balance even between community and community." Never mind holding the balance even between the Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and others. Before profounding its imaginary authority over the international affairs of India, could it honestly say it has succeeded in " holding the balance even " between a few political factions within its own camp? Is it possible for a gentleman of the type and character of Dr. Ansari to so forget himself as to puff up the vanity of this annual fancy fair, and give utterance to such a preposterous hoax? Could he tell us that this Congress of his which speaks like one having judicial authority over all the races of India exercised its "jurisdiction" in the case of even a single riot out of hundreds that have occurred during the past six years, effected reconciliation between fanatical mobs breaking one another's heads, held the balance even between the unbridled belligerents of two communities and made the intervention of the police unnecessary? As a rule, our Indian mentality in politics specially induces us to delight in tall talks; but the Congress mentality makes that talk the tallest of the world.

Now, turning from the President to the Congress patriots, we feel like coming out of an atmosphere of polemic warmth to one of Midsummer Nights dreams. Mr. Gandhi has described the Congress Committee as "a school boys' debating Society," but when they huddled up on the Congress platform, the debating Society became a dramatic Society, and they acted a veritable French Revolution. The speakers stood there like the howitzers that razed to the ground the infamous Bastille and trampled upon the tyranny of the Church and the State. From their brazen throats boomed shells in the form of "resolutions" which were revolutions mightier by far than those of France, Italy, Russia and Germany. Complete National independence, the withdrawal of the British Army from India, the withdrawal of the British Navy from Indian waters, the proclamation of Swaraj and a Republican Constitution to match, were the chief bombs that were levelled at the British Rule in India. The drama was not to be over so soon. As if to cheer up the dazed audience, a comic was staged. He was both a star and a crescent. In swaggered the ponderous figure; he threw up his great big paunch to the audience and said that if all the lean and emaciated people of India would like to be as fat and bloated as himself, they must merely cry out, "Oh we are all independent people". And this very entertaining hero, just to evince his unbounded appreciation of th

Hindu-Muslim unity, fell prosterate before a Hindu leader when the latter finished his oration on the platform. And so, the National Congress which used to be an assembly of princes in politics, a non-official Parliament of India, respected by the English speaking world, has turned a theatre of jokes and dreams. Complete National Independence! What can be nicer than that? But, having so easily established that national independence by the magic of their paper resolutions, the Congressmen must not imagine that to rule such a glorious independent India will be as sweet as children eating chocolate. There never was a more violent British-hater than the late Mr. C. R. Das; and even he would not think of an India apart from Britain, not that he cared for British connection, but he knew as well as anybody else, except an unconscionable fanatic that, under British protection, India was quite safe and that the moment she seceded from the Great Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire, that moment would be heard the death-knell of her desolation in which state she would be parcelled out among hungry but powerful nations around, far and near her. But, anyway, to make us believe, simple folks that we are, that the resolution of "Complete National Independence" was not meant for a yarn, let them give us, before redeeming the 320 millions from the bondage of Britain by the omnipotence of their "self-determination" sweeping the whole nation to Swaraj, a proof of the beginning of that power by rescuing the Indian, only one Indian, who is locked up in a cage in London whining for a Visa and imploring help from his Congress comrades. They have betrayed their utter incapacity in the matter; and still they have the gracious temerity to believe that India is so full of fools that they would readily gulp up anything that is prattled out by the Congress in the name of nationalism.

Their next fling was upon the withdrawal of the British Army from India. Do they in their Anglophobia realise what it means to withdraw the British Army from the eternal battlefield of the world? Never did a deadlier knife touch the throat of its victim. If, for the past one hundred and fifty-years, India, which had been for many a century the marked victim of the invasions and assaults of Greeks Scythians, Parthians, Mongols, Huns, Arabs, Turks and Mussulmans of other types, has been spared the agony and the humiliation of such invasions and is still preserved intact from the still more powerful and dangerous nations that are ready for a jump upon her any moment; if she has been marked by great progress and prosperity in consequence of the unbroken and unheard of blessing of peace which marches her onward replete with hope; if the position of the seven hundred Indian Rulers and the security of their thrones remain unassailed by fratricidal and foreign wars: if the swords of the deadly-warring religions have got rusty in their old scabbards, and nations enjoy unfettered exercise of their faiths; if the countless myriads of the most unsympathetic caste-cursed and creed-doped peoples keep to their places without flying at each other's throat and destroying themselves for merest trifles; if the temples and mosques and churches stand unmolested, undefiled and undemolished; if the wide-spread, age-long lawlessness has been swept away and the majesty of the law inspires and maintains universal peace in the country, and if the 320 millions enjoy, under the blessing of Heaven, absolute safety of their honour, lives and property, is it not all due to the presence of the British Army in India ? It is pure justice to say that Dr. Ansari must have been, at the time, unconscious of the delight such a resolution, if given effect to, would give his co-religionists as it would easily put Islam in possession of another 20 or 30 millions wrested from Hinduism, to make up for the dead loss it has sustained during the non-aggressive, peace-preserving British Rule. I can understand that ; but it is impossible to understand how, in the face of a history which holds up to their gaze of blinding humiliation, the presence of 70 million Indian Muslims, the magnificent Empire of Vijianagar in the dust of the Earth, and thousands of holiest and most venerated shrines and temples swept off the face of India, the Hindu Congress could court the speedy annihilation of what still remains of Hinduism by such a thoughtless and suicidal resolution.

What has endeared the Congress even to its bitterest opponents and poured fresh blood into its drooping vein is the blast of its clarion with which it has snatched the occasion and appealed to all parties to join issue with it for boycotting the Statutory Commission out and out. In this the Congress is not to be baffled ; it leads the way which is beset with uproar, rowdyism, bloodshed, open defiance of law and order and a wanton encroachment on the liberties of peaceful and law-abiding citizens. Of the Commission, says the President, "It is not a question of the appointment of a Hindu peer or a Muslim knight ; nor is at a question whether Indians should participate in its work as members, assessors or advisors. The principle involved is totally different. It is besic and fundamental. No sane or self-respecting Indian can ever admit the claim of Great Britain to be the sole judge of the measure and time of India's political advance. We alone know our needs and requirements best and ours must be the decisive voice in the determination of our future. It is our interest and inalienable right." Bravo! But what does that "We" mean? Is it the body politic cut up into endless contending factions not knowing their own needs and requirements, exulting in ceaseless wrangles and recriminations, incapable of agreeing on any one point, a hindrance to progress and a nuisance in the country? Or if it is the Congress, I should say that our needs and requirements have, remarkably of recent years, been so sumptuously satisfied and the country laid under such profound obligations to the self-less Congress that, after forty-two years, it forces tears from its President when he says: " It is, however, a matter of deep regret that the number of Muslims and Sikhs has dwindled considerably. The case of the Parsis who took such a leading part in the early life of the Congress is worse still. I wish particularly to address the Indian Christians who have so far kept themselves aloof as a body from the Congress." It is needless to add here that the entire body of the so-called " untouchables " many of whom are highly educated and enlightened have also kept away from this unapproachable Congress.

Having thus exposed the Congress in its dilapidation and misery, the President takes some fresh air and allows himself to be carried away in his reveries of a constitution for India in a perfect Congress brogue. "The advent of the Statutory Commission," says he, "should not divert our attention from the work of framing a constitution for India. The need for it had been felt for a long time and at the Bombay meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the working Committee was called upon to draw up, in consultation with leaders of political thought in the country, a suitable constitution for India. To frame a constitution for a people consisting of 320 million souls professing different religions and speaking different languages, will be the most unique and gigantic experiment in democracy". To be candid, the so-called democracy of India which has a history of an autocracy of twenty-five centuries maintained in steel rigidity by the terrors of oriental despotism and under social and religious binding of a most appalling character, is not quite ten years old. The body politic which forms just a wee particle in the unwieldy population is given the chance of studying the ideals of western democracy which has been imported, free of duty, into the country as a sample commodity. They are in the Kindergarten of it ; and it will be years before they can outgrow their juvenile sports in the political school. Talk of master-minds ? If Beotia produced a Pindar, it does not follow that all Beotians were poets. No great importance attaches to the man who drafts rules for an army as regards its discipline and its tactics to adopt in an engagement, but to the hero that marches the army to victory. The Congress and all the other political coteries have not yet learned the very rudiments of the art of keeping together and, year after year, plunging themselves in a sea of resolutions, confess to their total incapacity to compose, as I have said elsewhere, even a single communal disturance in the country. And for such an embryonic body to frame, in open defiance of the existing authority whose rule in India, says President Rosevelt, "is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire" a constitution for the great sub-continent of India with the inconceivable complexities of her races, religions, languages and social habits, with the gigantic problem of the 700 Indian States and, what is more queer, to impose and run it upon 320 millions, is nothing short of a wild and useless talk. We are here reminded of the great moral which Socrates deduces from his conversation with Ariston. The whole trouble is the present Reform is prematurely inflicted upon an unprepared and ill-qualified India. It is unintelligible and inaccessible to 99·9 per cent of the population. Thousands of voters, during the last election, signifying their votes by their thumb-impressions unable to write their own names, is an unquestionable evidence of the disastrous haste with which the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform has been forced upon India as a war-boon. It has placed her at the parting way of construction and destruction, and most of the people who are supposed to be the recipients of such a boon are, of course, dumb-stricken. They could hardly utter a word to Heaven or Earth as to what is good or bad for them. What, then, is the guarantee for their protection and well-being? It is the supreme sense of responsibility that the British nation has for India, a responsibility that has been gloriously vindicated before the world by their upright and unique rule of a century and a half; and that responsibility shall not cease till the masses have found a tongue to talk.

As a matter of fact, it is not India's self-respect that is discounted, but it is the leaders' sentiment that is painfully pricked. By the power of their purse, by their inimitable tactics of swaying the ignorant crowds and the inexperienced youths, especially school children, to their side and by the restless labours of hirelings, this touchiness of theirs evolved into an evil spirit with infinite capacity for disorder; and, on the 3rd February, the day of the arrival of the Royal Commission at Bombay, the spirit held up all important centres under mob rule. Hartal was proclaimed throughout the Congress-infected areas, which meant the cessation of all business, the closing of all shops, markets, schools and colleges, the stoppage of the service of trams, buses, motor-cars, and all public conveyances and, in short, the standstill of all transactions in the place. Madras,—the hotbed of Brahmanism, which may be taken as representative of the rest, cut a most notorious figure that day. Had the organisers of the hartal confined their activities to 'non-violence',—a convenient term upon the dodging lip, political India would have less disgraced itself; but they let loose bands of hired budmashes and thousands of boys from schools which were largely closed on that day to avoid disturbances; and these freely raided people going about their business. Under intimidation of gangs, buses were forcibly stopped, tramcars were smashed, private cars were stopped and occupants were indiscriminately molested, and one which was driven by a high Government official was burnt and he himself who was an Englishman made to hie and take shelter in the High Court buildings ; a few were killed, and many others were assaulted and injurred and there were cases too of death by stabbing. The business quarters of the city were aflame with violence. The law was mocked and defied ; the mob ruled. Under the banner of lawlessness, loyalty had to pay dearly for its crime of quiet bearing, for it was placed between two fires, mob terrorism and lack of adequate and timely protection from authorities. The police who bore the brunt of the mob fury were victims of a day which gave them a foretaste of Swaraj. The one thing which formed the silver lining in the dark lowering cloud is the admirable bearing of the entire Muslim Community who stood aloof from the rabid demonstration of boycotters ; and, if they did anything, it was to counteract the dangerous turn the hartal was taking towards evening. Surely, the 3rd February did not deseive the hooliganism which was engineered by boycotters to dishonour the Royal Commission ; but, in fact, it went to crown the hartal-mongers with indelible shame. It also went to betray the hollowness of their cause and the weakness of their side. Under threats of violence and bloodshed, the measure and the noble quality of co-operation were kept in the background. Its numerical preponderance was besieged indoors by an unfettered street rowdyism.

It must be remembered here, and when I say this I do not presume, and I am not worthy, to hold a brief for the British Rule that Britain has, in spite of the adverse conditions that obtain in the country, substantially appreciated Indian talent. In vain will the ablest and most critical scholar, in vain will the bitterest enemy of the British Rule in India, attempt to find a parallel in the records of history where a ruling power has conferred such extraordinary blessings and privileges upon a dependent race. Indians of integrity and capacity have attained the highest positions in the Empire even to provincial Governorship. They are received into the confidence of the most important Departments of Government. Posts carrying immense responsibility, power and emolument which, a decade ago, were little dreamt of, are in their hands. And, most prominently, the Brahmans, who are the soul of the political unrest at the present moment, have been allowed, to the unjustifiable exclusion of other races, to monopolise the cream of all public offices. They are, as it were, the chartered pets of Government in every Department, and, to-day, Britain might well turn to them and say, "Et tu Brute?"

The constant flow of dissatisfaction and disaffection sweeping away prudence and patience alike ; the virulent attacks of the press, the rabid phillipics of the platform, the gladiatorial scenes in the Legislatures, patriots and leaders of people in an unbalanced mind throwing themselves headlong into the melting pot of perverse politics, the spirit of defiance of law and Government springing up mischief and disorder everywhere, school boys spurning their studies and their serious duty of shaping under control and discipline their future career as citizens of the Empire and descending from the noble height of progress and enlightenment right down to the scum of society, the street rabble, to hoot, to defy, to mock, and molest the Government and peaceful citizens; journals, pamphlets, leaflets, notices, manifestoes, posters and placards succeeding one another like sensations in a picture show to incite ignorant masses and innocent youths to violence and bloodshed; disgraceful meetings, hartals, hooliganism and incendiarism planned, financed and directed by irresponsible and interested mischief-mongers; the Brahmans, in their ardent dream of getting back their old days, carrying black flags in their hands to designate the death of the British Rule in India; and the Non-Brahmans, though a fragment of them, forgetting or rather pretending to forget what they were under the iron heel of their Brahman masters for seventy-five centuries of Indian history and joining them in villifying and denouncing the British to whom alone they are indebted, as attested to by history, for the emancipation, honour and independence of their race today; all such demonstrations of an unaccountable nature seem like racing for ruin. They are very like the handwriting which a mysterious hand planted on the wall defining the doom of impious Baltazar.

Why court ruin for nothing at all? Has India lost her confidence in the British Rule? On two momentous periods of its regime, was that rule put to a most crucial test; and on each of those occasions it came out, its strength, popularity and indispensability proved before the world. The first was during the Great Mutiny. As a tall lonely cliff in a mighty storm goes under the sea which is lashed into whirlpools by the furious hurricane and shoots out again high above the foamy waters when the storm has passed away ; even so did the British Rule in India, after being submerged under the surging terrors of the Mutiny rise forth above the catastrophe quelled and calmed a solitary sentinel keeping its usual welcome watch over the vast expanse of Indian nations. And the second was during the Great War. No sooner did India receive news of the war than all the ruling Princes and peoples, throwing away their differences and knitting together in a common fellowship, flashed their unanimous support and sympathy across the wide ocean to His Imperial Majesty and to Parliament, placing their entire resources, their men and money and their very lives in defence of the Empire and for the success of the British arms. Even ladies, living their secluded lives in zenanas toiled day and night with their own hands and made belts, clothes, cigar and cigarette cases and a mass of other things for men in the front. And thousands of Indian soldiers who now sleep in the distant fields of France have laid down their lives for the British Empire which they looked upon as their own. The valiant deeds of these heroes speak from their silent tombs their devotion and loyalty to the British throne in a tone louder than the guns that crashed in their hands.

And what is it that makes the vast heterogenous, countless millions of India pin their faith on the one central power, the British Rule? It is the deep conviction engraved upon their hearts, that the British Rule is just and their mighty shield against dangers which might overwhelm them any day. Witness the internal safety of the country and the happiness ensured therein by the suppression of thuggee, dacoity, infanticide, suttee, slavery, and hosts of other crimes that had been switching the land for ages in ceaseless terror; the blessing of education conferred upon the people and the mighty results that have accrued from this wonderful work of enlightenment; thousands of educated classes securing independent and honest livelihood and comfort in life; the endowment of ever-widening political rights that keep invigorating every part of the Empire with a steady progress in her moral, material and political condition; the construction of Railways, Telegraphs and Irrigation works which not only facilitate travelling and develop commerce, but are a powerful means of many a million earning their living; the solicitude of Government during the outbreaks of epidemics and famines to hurry to the spots where the diseased fall in heaps under the stroke of the visitation and, spending crores of rupees, afford relief to the sick and the needy, allay public anxiety, arrest the march of destruction and rescue the terror-stricken from the jaws of death; the concord of brotherhood that exists among the ruling Princes, the security of their thrones and the prosperity and sound administration that obtain in their states; the defensive fortifications and armaments that guard the land and sea and the immunity that India enjoys thereon from those invasions of powerful foes which, in times past, told her tale in the extinction of ancient monarchies, the wholesale massacre of people, the plunder and demolition of temples, the sack of cities and the destruction of provinces; the condition of India of to-day as compared with India of the past and the marvellous changes that have come upon her in consequence of the tremendous force of administrative genius and skill; the universal peace of the country; the organisation of the Congress, the Moslem League, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Servants of India Society, the Social Reforms and the Hindu Maha Sabha for the spiritual, political and social regeneration and advancement of India; the burning activity in her political life, the investment of common citizenship and common political rights which have given rise to new ideas, new aspirations, new modes of life, new order of things, the awakening of a new national spirit and the moulding of a new, vigorous young India; the immense confidence with which the 320 millions of God's creatures look up to the British Government for the safety of their honour, their lives and prosperity; their profound attachment to the British throne; the reverence with which they regard the august person and the authority of the King-Emperor, and the deep loyalty which, in spite of the restless work of sedition to sweep them off the right course, continues to abide in their hearts founded as it is upon a firm conviction that the safety, the prosperity and the greatness of the Indian Empire are closely, inviolably and unalterably wound up with the British rule.

How assuring so ever are the benefits of the British rule, it is undeniable that the fate of India hangs between two unquenchable fires: Brahmanism and Non-Brahmanism, and Hinduism and Islam. If, profiting by the lessons of the past, from feelings of genuine patriotism, loving the glory of the country more than the deification of self and actuated by the signs of the times, the Brahman would only relinguish much of his preposterous dignity and look upon all the other Indians as his brethren; if the Non-Brahman races, putting aside the social and religious differences that so sharply cut them up into endless groups of strangers and opponents and form a large family of friends with a practical and perpetual resolve to consolidate that noble friendship by quite happily and freely eating and drinking and associating together without the least scruple of sentiment and superstition; if the depressed classes, either by an act of self-assertion or through the lift accorded them by some vigorous agency of humanity, rise forth, in the eyes of the world, into the dignity of free and honourable citizens; and, if all the religions of the land would, by a solemn profession of tolerance and divine charity, effect a concordant for the unmolested exercise of faith and worship of every one of them, what a magnificent nation India will be! Can we possibly imagine a more glorious picture under the Sun? Is it all a dream? To time, perhaps, it is not. But whatever evils might be stamped out by the will of a prudent nation, it leaves no room to doubt that the demon which it would be most desperate to get expelled from India will be the infamous "untouchability."

Since the present constitution, the question of untouchability is strangely changing hands from social to political reform. Our Hindu leaders make no secret of the necessity which urges them to remove the ban of untouchability from the depressed classes, so that, by their co-operation and sympathy in a new-born state, they may contribute to their own communal strength and interest. This is, of course, as a means to an end. But how is this manoeuvre to take effect? Is Hindu orthodoxy so very plastic as to stretch itself to meet the demand of the hour? Are even the educated classes so actuated by fellow-feeling as to accede to the translation of the vast colony of "untouchables" from servitude to freedom? And would it be unfair to ask if the regneration of these "untouchables," as contemplated by our social reformers by the administration of the political baptism called "shuddi" will not topple over, as soon as the political needs are satisfied? India's confidence in this matter is so badly shaken that the truest and most honest efforts of reformers like the Hindu Maha Sabha are not unnaturally viewed with misgivings. There is little credit to the man who repeats a good word that has been repeated to a point of weariness, but to him who is able to translate that good word into a tangible act. We may here bluntly state that it is a vain hope to look to Hindu sympathy for the salvation of the depressed classes. High minded patriots do, in very deed, strive to find some means on religious grounds, because their fate is sealed under the decree of religion, some loop-hole to get them out of their unfortunate plight. This sort of attempt has been going on since the social reform was started. But the achievements effected so far are worth next to nothing. The sixty millions are there, still in their dust-born state; untouchability remains untouched. It is a weird paradox to look for their betterment to the very Shastras which have consigned them to their eternal reprobation. If the fate of these unfortunates is left indefinitely to hang on the gratuitous dispensation and condescension of the Shastras, their condition is, as it ever was ; doomed. As usual, there will be conferences, consultations and controversies on the subject till doomsday with absolutely no result. It is like the incident where a ruffian got on to a woman who was driven out of her village, and, after assailing outraging and stretching her almost lifeless on the ground, planted his heel on her throat to take the last breath out. Then the elders of the village, instead of rescuing the poor dying woman straightaway by flying at the murderer and doing away with him, assembled in a place, put their heads together and engaged themselves in long and learned disputations, with numerous references to the old records of the village as to the statututory powers conferred on them which might enable them in their official and reverential capacity to protect the helpless woman from insult and death. They held on their discussions and they are not over yet. The Shastras, whose authenticity and sacredness nobody would question, are the monopoly of the Brahman. Their interpretation is in his hands. It would be easier to bring the Moon down upon the Earth than persuade the theocratic Brahman to accede to the interpretation of his Shastras, so derogatory to his priestly dignity, which might, in the least, countenance the amelioration of the victims of his religion. To attempt to find some canonical prescription from the Brahman Shastras for the redemption of the social slaves of India is pure wool-gathering. The only alternative is to come out of the rut of religious sentiment in which the wheel of India's progress is so disastrously stuck and treat the case at its face value. There you find them in a state than which there exists nothing more loathsome, more pitiable and iniquitous in the world. Let therefore humanity, pure and simple, come to their rescue. That is practically the course pursued by the lamest and feeblest efforts of Government, the supreme ardour of the Arya Samaj, the Servants of India Society, the Depressed Classes Mission, the Salvation army and other Christian bodies.

The grave lesson that history reads to living India is the fate of nations that had their day and ceased to be. Unrighteousness in nations, as in individuals, never goes unpunished. The brazen gates of Babylon, the rocky towers of Assyria, the massive walls of deicide Jerusalem, and the impregnable ramparts that guarded cities of ancient fame now in the depths below, were no defence against the day when the Arm of an angry Deity was raised to smite them. And, to-day, in punishment for their injustice and oppression of the poor, the helpless and the despised, those mighty ones, with all their vanity, pride and glory, are counted as dead among the dead, entombed in the dust of the earth. As long as the accursed "untouchability" remains in India, she is, in the sight of Heaven, a nation of iniquity: And, as sure as the deadly blast of a tornado sweeps away forests and cities and provinces in its desolating march, so will the avenging Providence, in the day of atonement, let loose upon the guilty head of India the flood-gates of retributive justice which, in an unseen hour, will wash out what still remains of her greatness and civilisation.

Apart from the material causes that would appear to have invited foreign invasions into India, a spiritual mind, perceiving in them all a cause higher than mere human, asks itself, " If not for the seven hundred years of Mahomedan rule and the hundred and fifty years of British rule, what would be the fate of the vast majority of the people, particularly the depressed and the lower orders under the Brahman supremacy of Hindu Rule ? It is inconceivable! Surely, not all the 70 millions of Mahomedans of India are the descendants of invaders. The two main causes which, as every one knows, have contributed to the spread of Islam in India, are, first, the terror of ceaseless persecutions which prostrated men and nations who dared to oppose the Koran, the tribute or the sword ; and secondly, drawn by the noble teachings of the Koran which offers its followers absolute social liberty and independence as citizens of the Empire of God, millions of Hindus who had been kept crushed down for ages under the iron-manacles of a hopeless social degradation which is the inseparable appendage and glory of Hinduism, forsook the faith of their fathers and joined the ranks of their former enemies who now became the accredited guardians of their honour as Indians and Mahomedans. In the consciousness of its vast acquisitions of old, the virile, proslytising, fraternising Islam is still heard to roar with the ferocity of a tiger in a cage.

The British Rule, on the other hand, being non-aggressive is a poor consolation to the lower orders except where they receive absolute legal protection equal to any in the country. To them the British Rule is what a solid plank is to a ship-wrecked sailor. It would not move him ashore, but enables him to keep his head up and fearlessly struggle on for a landing. Here is a recent example, published in the local papers, dated 9th Sept. 1927. "The meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Hindu Depressed Classes Sabha which was held in the first week of this month, passed very important resolutions : one resolution condemned the callousness of the Government of the United Provinces (one-third of the population of these provinces are depressed classes) in the matter of the employment of qualified men of the depressed classes in the various services of the Government and prayed to His Excellency the Governor to make a sufficient provision for the admission of these classes in the services. In that connection they pointed out Madras. The meeting of the Sabha emphatically opposed the grant of any further Reforms till the Depressed Classes have had their due share in the Reform already given......A resolution was also passed requesting Lord Birkenhead to appoint a special Committee of enquiry for the purpose of enquiring into the condition of the depressed classes with a view to place the results of the labours of such Committee beforce the Royal Commission.

Here our attention is advertently drawn to a page of Dr. Rutherford's " Modern India " which I take the liberty of quoting with my apologies to the Doctor, which gives us a clear insight into the condition of these ill-fated people. " Being a doctor most interested in humanity, I should lead him (Lord Birkenhead) straightaway to the homes of the poor who have long been the special subjects or slaves of British solicitude and British conception of sanitation. There the picture of dirt and disorder, of wretched hovels and indescribable horrors, without drainage or sanitation, or adequate scavengering, with human excrements in every narrow alley, filling the air with foul stenches worse than any stygian pool, a beautiful breeding ground for pestilence and disease, of groups of men and women and children sitting on cleared ground away from their inhospitable huts, rudely huddled together which were used as crowded shelters at night, of children, emaciated from malnutrition, demands a Dante to depict " Yes, but why great Dante? Little Dorasami would do. The cannibal who, after feeding on the head of his victim, a fellow-man, reclines on the multilated bleeding trunk and snores away with the happy thought of another good feed the next day, has not, in the sight of God, committed a more egregious crime than the man, supposed to be highly cultured and civilised and profoundly learned in his sacred profession, who has framed a law and deviced means by which he has reduced 60 millions of God's creatures on earth into so many vermins to wallow, through endless times, in a cesspool of social and moral filth, indelible reprobation stamped on their foreheads, accursed, unclean, untouchable, unapproachable, unworthy even to crawl at the feet of high castes; and all this opprobrium, all this riotous injustice and iniquity upheld and practised in the name of religion! A God of Infinite Justice is thus made a party to human crime and wickedness! This irremediable, inconceivable and most deplorable condition of the out-castes has been brought about by the legal enactments of the progenitors of those for whom Dr. Rutherford, the doctor of humanity in his unbounded sympathy for the Indian poor is so vehemently pleading in his book of slashing denunciation of the

British Rule in India with the desperate object of getting them self-government for India as the only panacea for the mighty ills that keep eating into the entrails of the depressed classes. Has farce ever been put on a more ludicrous stage? Has ever fate chiselled by wanton injustice been more rudely jostled? If a "scented handkerchief" is required by Lord Birkenhead to thrust it against his "nostrils glued" to protect himself against the exhalations of the squalid hovels of the outcasts, I may say that bales of Swadesi cloth, soaked and dried in the most powerful disinfectant of the doctor, would not be enough to protect the lover of justice from being choked to death by the foulest stenches bubling out of the huge filth of moral rottenness and atrocity that swamp these children of humiliation in their material uncleanness. Is it not a great pity that the Doctor so tenaciously holds on to the Code of Manu as his Materia Medica? By the ex-ray of his personal ramblings among most intolerable conditions of the lowliest of Indian society, Dr. Rutherford has doubtless spotted the disease; but unfortunately and socialistically, he has diagnosed the cause differently. Is the learned doctor not aware that by his glowing description of the Indian styx he has turned the pistol upon himself? He ought to know that it is the Indian Self-government called Local or Taluq Board and not the British Bureaucratic government, that is really and directly responsible for the havoc of insanitation that pulls Whitehall to the hovel. We Indians asked for Self-Government and have it in as complete a manner as possible in our Municipalities, District Boards and Union Committees. We have drawn the picture and it is reserved for the glowing pen of the doctor-champion of India's Self-Government to describe its abominations that disfigure one part of it.

If, at the invitation, a most welcome one, of Dr. Rutherford, the Secretary of State has made his rounds in "the picture of dirt and disorder, or wretched hovels and intolerable horrors," the memorable visit will surely close with a word of sigh breaking from the doctor's heart "mea culpa!" Again, from the same "Modern India: "Give India a constitution equal to that of Serbia and Poland which God knows are more backward in civilisation than India, and all will be well." Undoubtedly, the mere thought of having a constitution for India similar to that of Serbia or Poland is enough to fill the heart of every Indian with joy. There it stops; it dare not go further. If it did, agonising truth oppresses it even to despair; for, how would the prescription of a good tonic be of any avail to a system blasted with maladies? Though most painful it is necessary withal to confess our sins unto purification and salvation. How can a patient hope for his recovery and health if, through false shame and pride, he hides his own disease with its serious developments to the doctor who is come to cure him? In the first place, it is unfair to compare the little land of Serbia and Poland with one white people and one common religion to a continent like India with hundreds of races and languages, with scores of religions which will not face each other, and social habits and prejudices lost in a wilderness of vagaries, with 70 millions of Islam and 220 millions of Hindu at daggers drawn, and with 60 millions strangled in the obnoxious unto uchability which forms the crowning glory of her deeds of injustice. "Three years ago, in a town in the north-west of India a Brahman child fell into a well. All the men of the family were away, and the women were unable to reach the child. A sweeper (untouchable) ran up and offered to go down the well and rescue the child; but his services were spurned, and child was allowed to drown. Better death than defilement of child and well by the touch of a sweeper" (Holland's Goal of India). And how many unrecorded cases of similar nature have occurred before and since this law-abetted murder, nobody could ever know. However, this is one of the stern realities which patriots must face who demand a constitution equal to that of Serbia and Poland which "God knows, are more backward ir civilisation than India, and all will be well". No, the God of Light knows all will be ill. Let, therefore, true patriotism come forth honestly and courageously seeking first the cure of India's internal weaknesses and infirmities before yearning for her toning up to Swaraj.

By thus placing with what powers I could command, feeble as they are, yet with absolute conviction and sincerity before my fellow countrymen the fatuity of working national independence under electric current and the absurdity of attempting to found Swaraj upon the ruins of the British Raj, no less the need for the indispensable continuance of the British Rule if Swaraj is to be attained at all, I hold I am serving the true cause of my country in her highest and best interest. Great men have sung the same theme, and I, a little man amongst the mass millions, have attempted to do so as an act of duty. Am I lacking in patriotism? I am no more unpatriotic than the man is ungentlemanly who confesses to his obligations to a friend and says he has done him a good turn. Nowhere is patriotism so proudly vindicated as in India and still, so often, by methods which are radically wrong. Truth transcends all other virtues, and patriotism without truth is fiction which may appeal to those who are swayed by a meaningless emotion. It may, for a time, trade upon ignorance ; but, as things so clearly demonstrate themselves around us, it soon collapses under the weight of its own fraud. It genuine patriotism finds it so hard, in the face of insurmountable difficulties, to constitute a good that would be great and wide enough to cover the interest and the well-being of the whole country, how can selfish motive and spiteful calumny covenant that act? An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit. It is not partiotism to inflame the feelings of an ignorant populace against an authority that is their very shield, and, after subjecting them to the rigours of the law, desert them to their fate and slink into obscurity. It is not patriotism to dope people with the arts of a siren into raising tons of money promosing them the gifts of the most fabulous entravagances of political dreams and, running the purse dry in a wild-goose chase, offer them nothing but hard-earned emptiness as the sole fulfilment of the promises. In other countries, such pranks would merit their just reward ; but India would never cease in her worship of idiotic idealism. God has given her eyes, but she would not see. Salvation cannot force itself upon a people who deliberately shut their eyes against the lessons of the past that stand before them like giant rocks in the sea warning ships to keep clear of reefs. In their sentimental pride, they despise the good things of other nations, preferring to rot immovably on an unhealthy soil in their own antiquated craze-worn ways and notions. It is not patriotism to palm off the tussle between a handful of educated and political classes and the bureaucracy for a mighty struggle between India and the British Government and British Empire. It is not patriotism to march a crowd of ignorance armed with bubbles of speech and bayonets of bluff against dreadnoughts and machine-guns to destroy the British rule and establish the Independence of India. Of course, during peaceful times when she steers on smooth waters and we feel so snug and warm under powerful protection, we look upon, or more truly, we are made to look upon our British Rulers as alien enemies, and, gathering round our leaders who are armed to the teeth with self-determination for complete national independence, we play, as is our wont choosing to ignore the past, a tough game with Government. We abuse, we ridicule, we challenge them and tax their patience even to a degree of offence. But when a serious danger threatens to drop on India; if, suddenly to-day, a war breaks out and invading armies start pouring in from every corner and her coasts nestle with fleets booming destruction upon the country and airships fly about like eagles over a slaughter-house, where are we? We never stood united in the past, nor ever can we. One million Congressmen can hardly lift as much as a finger for our protection. They and the rest of India must look to the 'alien', 'Satanic' British for that protection. This is hard truth which befools false pride and sham patriotism. The Great War has told us and the world that truth. Against such quixotic chivalry and hollow patriotism, eminent sons of India, in their profound, far-seeing statesmanlike wisdom, have given a warning note. Sir Surendranath Bannerjea the "Father of Indian Nationalism" than whom there has not breathed upon the classic soil of India a nobler soul, a greater patriot and politician and a more world-renowned orator, has, in his public speeches, emphatically expressed his conviction that India's loyalty to the British Throne is the ground-work on which it is possible to rear her political glory. Sir Madhava Row has said: "The longer one lives, and observes, and thinks, the more deeply does one feel there is no community on the face of the Earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-created and therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu community. It must be frankly and gratefully admitted that the British Government of India is incomparably the best Government we have ever had. It is the strongest, the most righteous and the best suited to India's diverse populations and diverse interests. It is the most capable of self-maintenance, of self renovation and self-adjustment, in reference to the progressive advancement of the subject race". Ramiengar, Dewan of Travancore, has written: "We live under the mildest, the most enlightened and the most powerful of modern Governments; we enjoy in a high degree the rights of personal security and personal liberty and the right of private property, the dwelling of the humblest and meanest subject may be said to be now as much his castle as that of the proud Englishman in his native land ; no man is any longer by reason of his wealth or of his rank so high as to be above the reach of the law ; and none, on the other hand, is so poor and insignificant as to be beyond its protection. In less than a short century, anarchy and confusion have been replaced by order and good Government as if by the wand of a magician, and the country has started on a career of intellectual, and moral and material advancement of which nobody can foresee the end. Whatever may be the shortcomings of Government (and perfection is not vouchsafed to human institutions and human efforts) in the unselfish and sincere desire which animates them to promote the welfare of the millions committed to their care, in the high view they take of their obligations and responsibilities as rulers, in the desire they show at all times to study the sentiments and feelings of the people and carry them along with them in all important measures and in the spirit of benevolence which underlies all their actions, the British Government stands without equal". And President Roosevelt has said : "India affords the most colossal example in the history of successful administrations by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break up of the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made, but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of a white race during the past two centuries. On the whole, it has been for the immeasurable benefits of the natives of India themselves; and if the English control were now withdrawn, the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence. All the weaker peoples and the most industrious and law-abiding would be forced to submit to indescribable wrong, and the only beneficiaries would be the lawless, violent and blood-thirsty men. The great salient fact is that the presence of the English in India has been for the advantage of mankind, every true friend of humanity should realise that the part which England has played in India has been to the immeasurable benefit of India, for her honour, her profit and her civilisation. We should feel profound satisfaction in the stability and permanence of British rule."

Of the immense advantages India derives from being an integral part of the British Empire, says Chitta Ranjan Das, the last of the great souls that have departed, "We cannot forget that we live in the midst of an Empire the largest and the most glorious Empire in the history of the human race. We cannot forget that our interests are bound up intimately with the interests of England. We cannot forget that our interests are also bound up with the interest of Australia and South Africa. All of us live and grow under the sway of the same Empire. If you consider the geographical magnitude of this Empire, the different races, the different creeds, the different cultures, the different religions which this Empire represent, you will find that here is a glorious opportunity for federating so many human races, with so many distinct interests, distinct nationalities, different cultures, different religions and in that way for contributing to the ultimate federation of the whole human race. That is the philosophy of nationalism to-day." And Reuter sends us a happy message from Durban on 9th September, 1927. "The Right Honorable Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing an assembly of 2,000 on Imperial sentiment, spoke appreciatively on the greatness and glory of the Empire from which, he said, India had derived very great benefits. She would remain in the Empire and it would take a great deal to expel her from it. Those pledged to independence were small in number and powerless against the myriads who were in favour of the Imperial communism. India had now taken the first step towards Dominion status and Dominion status would not be delayed indefinitely, but would probably come in the lifetime of many of those present. He pleaded for greater rights for India and for Indians being treated as British subjects and not as undesirable aliens." Such, indeed, are the sentiments that pour out from the hearts of the best and and noblest sons of India; such the flashes of wisdom and truth. And what is there for India but to follow the light?

Under her banner then, the banner of Britannia that has been carried to the farthest ends of the Earth as the emblem of progress and liberty, may India, our great Mother, with her 320 millions, led on by the noble example of her more enlightened sons and daughters up the rugged path of national advancement, safe from external foes under cover of Imperial guns and from internal disorders under the unflinching protection of the law, untarnished by racial and religious stifes, unflouted by social malignity, dedicated to whatever constitutes

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the pride and genius of humanity, united by the impregnable bond of fellowship in all that concerns the life of a vigorous, healthy and practical nation and, highest of all, armed with the sacredness of duty and actuated by sentiments of unswerving loyalty to God, Crown and Country, march with the majesty of time and to the blare of popular enthusiasm right onward into the untrodden region of democracy and there, in the splendour of an exalted state, in union with the far off Dominion powers who are held together nurtured, strengthened and inspired by the same Imperialism, she will be the mistress of her own destinies and sound forth a voice to proclaim her place in the Federation of man as an inseparable gem and an integral part of the great, glorious and incomparable Empire of Britain.

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